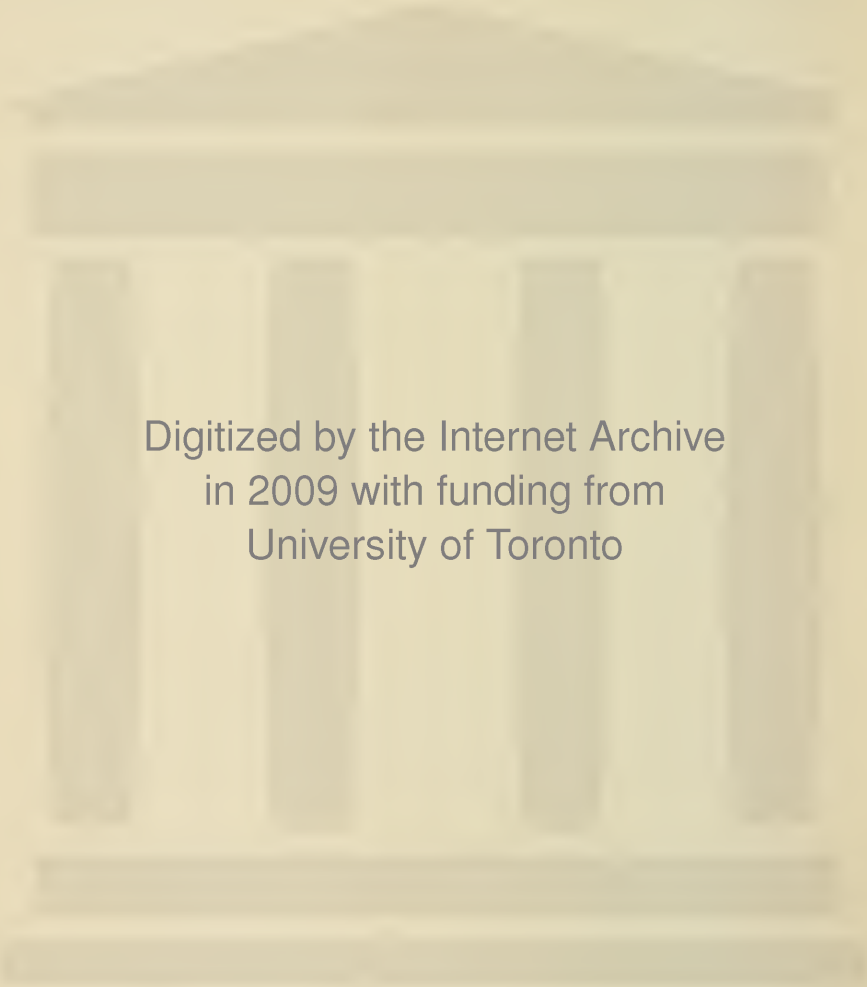




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CERTAINE

Miscellany Works
O F
THE RIGHT
HONOVABLE,

FRANCIS LO. Verulam,
Viscount S. ALBAN.

PVBLISHED

By *WILLIAM RAWLEY*,
Doctor of Diuinity, one of his
Maiesties Chaplaines.



428859
26.10.44

LONDON,

Printed by *I. Hauiland* for *Humphrey Robinson*,
dwelling at the signe of the three Pigeons
in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1629.

CERTAIN

Mechanical

OF

THE RIGHT

HONOURABLE

FRANCIS LO. VERNON

ESQ.

REVISED

BY WILLIAM RAYNES

Doctor of Divinity, and of the

Faculty of Divinity



LONDON

Printed by J. Smith, at the Press of the University of Cambridge, in the Strand, near the Temple Church, in the Year 1780.



To the Reader.



Haue thought
good, as a Ser-
uant, to the
Labours, and
Memory, of
that Noble
Lord, the Lo:
Viscount S. Alban, to collect into
one, these few, rather Parcells,
than Iust Works, of his excellent
Pen. Which I haue done for
these Causes. First, to vindicate
the VVrong, his Lordship suffe-

red, by a corrupt, and surreptitious Edition, of that *Discourse* of his, *Touching a Warre with Spaine*, lately set forth. Secondly, by way of Preuention, to exempt, from the like Iniury, & Defacements, those other *Discourses* of his, herein contained. Lastly, to satisfie the Desires of some, who hold it vnreasonable, that any the Delineations of that Pen, though in neuer so small a Modell, should not be shewen to the World. I know, it carries the Excuse with it, after the *Authors* Death, to publish *Fragments*. Therefore I will make none. These *Works*, being all, for the Argument, *Ci-uill*, I cannot represent better, than in Resemblance of *Aristotles*
Parua

To the Reader.

Parua Naturalia, to account
them as his Lordships *Parua Po-
litica*. Howsoever, I doubt not,
but every Iudicious *Reader*, fin-
ding of his Lordships Spirit in
them, will know them to be his ;
And will afford them, a Place of
Reputation, amongst his Greater
Works.

W. RAWLEY.

I have, I am sure, to account
 them as the Lordship's own
 own. However, I doubt not
 but that your judicious Reader, in
 view of his Lordship's Spirit in
 them, will know them to be his.
 And will afford them a Place of
 Reputation, amongst his Great

W. Rawley

CONSIDERATIONS
Touching a
WARRE
With
SPAINE.

Written about five yeeres since,
and inscribed to his MAJESTIE,

At that time

PRINCE OF
WALES.



LONDON,
Printed by Iohn HAVILAND
for Humphrey Robinson. 1629.

Copyrighted

London

WARRE

1797

SPAIN

Witnessed by the

Attest

PRINCE OF

WALSLEY



1797

Printed by J. Smith



CONSIDERATIONS
 Touching a
W A R R E
 With
S P A I N E.

To the Prince.

Y Our Highnesse hath an *Impe-*
riall Name. It was a CHARLES
 that brought the Empire first
 into *France* ; A CHARLES
 that brought it first into *Spaine* : Why
 B 2 should

Should not *Great Britaine* haue his turne ? But to lay aside all that may seeme to haue a shew of Fumes and Fancies, and to speake Solids : A *Warre* with *Spaine*, (if the King shall enter into it,) is a mighty Worke ; It requireth strong Materialls, and Actiue Motions. He that saith not so, is zealous, but not according to knowledge. But neuerthelesse, *Spaine* is no such Giant : And he that thinketh *Spaine*, to be some great Ouermatch for this Estate, assisted as it is, and may be, is no good Mint-man ; But takes greatnesse of Kingdomes according to their Bulke and Currency, and not after their intrinsique Value. Although therefore I had wholly sequestred my thoughts from Ciuill Affaires, yet because it is a new Case, and concerneth my Country infinitely, I obtained of my selfe, to set downe, out of long continued experience in Businesse of Estate, and much Conuersation in Bookes of *Policie* and *Historie*, what I thought pertinent to this Businesse ; And in all humblenesse present it to your Highnesse ; Hoping, that, at least, you will
discerne

discerne the strength of my Affection, through the weaknesse of my Abilities: For the Spaniard hath a good Prouerbe; *Desuário siempre con la Calentura*; There is no Heat of Affection, but is ioyned with some Idienesse of Braine.

To a Warre are required; *A Iust Quarrell*; *Sufficient Forces and Prouisions*; And *a prudent Choyce of the Designes*. So then, I will first *iustifie the Quarrell*, Secondly, *ballance the Forces*; and lastly, *propound variety of Designes for Choice*, but not *al- uise the Choice*; For that were not fit for a Writing of this Nature; Neither is it a Subject within the leuell of my Iudgement; I being, in effect, a Stranger to the present Occurrences.

Warres (I speake not of ambitious *Predatory Warres*;) are *Suits of Appeale to the Tribunall of Gods Iustice*, where there are no *Superiours* on earth to determine the Cause. And they are (as ciuill pleas are,) *Plaints*, or *Defences*. There are therefore three iust Grounds of Warre with Spaine: *One Plaint*; *Two vpon Defence*. SALOMON saith,

saith, *A Cord of three is not easily broken* : But especially when euery of the lines will hold single by it selfe. They are these. *The Recouery of the Palatinate* ; *A iust Feare of the Subuersion of our Ciuill Estate* : *A iust Feare of the Subuersion of our Church and Religion*. For in the handling of the two last Grounds of *Warre*, I shall make it plaine ; That *Warres* Preuentive vpon *Iust Feares*, are true *Defensives*, as well as vpon *Actuall Inuasions* : And againe, that *Warres* *Defensue* for *Religion*, (I speake not of *Rebellion*,) are most iust ; Though *Offensue Warres*, for *Religion*, are seldome to be approued, or neuer, vnlesse they haue some Mixture of *Ciuill Titles*. But all that I shall say in this whole Argument, will be but like Bottomes of Thred, close wound vp, which with a good Needle (perhaps) may be flourished into large Workes.

For the Asserting of the *Iustice of the Quarrell*, for the *Recouery of the Palatinate*, I shall not goe so high, as to discusse the Right of the *Warre of Bohemia* ; Which if it
be

be freed from doubt on our part, then there is no Colour nor Shadow, why the *Palatinate* should be retained ; The Ravi-
shing whereof was a meere Excursion of the first Wrong, and a Super-Iniustice. But I doe not take my selfe to be so perfect in the Customes, Transactions, and Pri-
uiledges of that Kingdome of *Bohemia*, as to be fit to handle that part. And I will not offer at that I cannot master. Yet this I will say (in passage) positiuely, and reso-
lutely : That it is impossible, an *Electiue Monarchy*, should be so free and absolute, as an *Hereditary* : No more than it is possible, for a Father, to haue so full Power and Interest, in an Adoptiue Sonne, as in a Naturall ; *Quia naturalis Obligatio fortior Ciuili*. And againe, that Receiued *Maxime* is almost Vnshaken, and Infallible ; *Nil magis Naturæ consentaneum est, quàm ut iisdem modis Res dissoluantur, quibus consti-
tuuntur*. So that, if the part of the *People* or *Estate* be somewhat in the Election, you cannot make them Nulls or Cyphers in the Priuation or Translation. And if it bee
said,

said, that this is a dangerous Opinion, for the *Pope*, *Emperour*, and *Elective Kings*; It is true, it is a dangerous Opinion, and ought to be a dangerous Opinion, to such personall *Popes*, *Emperours*, or *Elective Kings*, as shall transcend their limits, and become Tyrannicall. But it is a safe and sound Opinion for their Sees, Empires, and Kingdomes; And for themselves also, if they be wise; *Plenitudo Potestatis, est plenitudo Tempestatis*. But the chiefe Cause, why I doe not search into this point, is, because I need it not. And in handling the Right of a *Warre*, I am not willing to intermix matter doubtfull, with that which is out of doubt. For as in Capitall Causes, wherein but one Mans life is in question, *in fauorem vite*, the Euidence ought to bee cleare; So much more, in a Iudgement vpon a *Warre*, which is Capitall to Thousands. I suppose therefore the worst; That the *Offensive Warre* vpon *Bohemia* had beene vniust; And then make the Case; Which is no sooner made, than resolued; If it be made, not enwrapped, but plainly
and

and perspicuously. It is this in *Theſi*. An *Offenſive Warre* is made, which is vniuſt in the Aggreſſour; The Proſecution and Race of the *Warre*, carrieth the *Defendant*, to aſſaile and inuade, the Ancient and Indubitate Patrimony of the firſt *Aggreſſour*, who is now turned *Defendant*; Shall he ſit downe, and not put himſelfe in *Defence*; Or if he be diſpoſſeſſed, ſhall he not make a *Warre* for the Recouery? No Man is ſo poore of Iudgement, as will affirme it. The Caſtle of *Cadmus* was taken, and the City of *Thebes* it ſelfe inueſted, by *Phæbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, inſidiously, & in violation of League: The Proceſſe of this Action drew on a Reſurpriſe of the Caſtell by the *Thebans*, a Recouery of the *Towne*, and a Current of the *Warre* euen vnto the walls of *Sparta*. I demand, was the Defence of the City of *Sparta*, and the Expulſion of the *Thebans*, out of the ancient *Laconian Territories*, vniuſt? The ſharing of that part of the *Duchie* of *Milaine*, which lieth vpon the Riuer of *Adda*, by the *Venetians*, vpon Contract with the *French*, was an Ambitious

and vniust Purchase. This wheele set on going, did poure a *Warre* vpon the *Venetians*, with such a tempest, as *Padoua* and *Treuigi* were taken from them, and all their *Dominions* vpon the *Continent* of *Italy* abandoned, and they confined within the Salt Waters. Will any man say, that the memorable Recouery and Defence of *Padoua*, (when the Gentlemen of *Venice*, vnuised to the *Warres*, out of the loue of their Country, became Braue and Martiall the first day ;) And so likewise the Readeption of *Treuigi*, and the rest of their *Dominions*, was matter of Scruple, whether iust or no, because it had source from a Quarrell ill begunne ? The *Warre* of the Duke of *Vrbis*, Nephew to *Pope Iulius* the second, when he made himselfe Head of the *Spanish* Mutiniers, was as vniust, as vniust mought be : A support of desperate Rebels ; An Inuasion of *Saint Peters* Patrimony ; And what you will. The Race of this *Warre* fell vpon the losse of *Vrbis* it selfe, which was the *Dukes* vndoubted Right ; Yet in this case, no Penitentiary,

(though

(though hee had enioyned him neuer to
 strait Penance to expiate his first Offence,)
 would haue counsell'd him to haue giuen
 ouer the pursuit of his Right for *Vrbis*;
 Which after he prosperously re-obtained,
 and hath transmitted to his family yet vn-
 till this day. Nothing more vniust, than
 the Inuasion of the *Spanish Armada*, in 88.
 vpon our Seas; For our Land was holy
 land to them, they mought not touch it;
 Shall I say therefore, that the Defence of
Lisbon, or *Cales*, afterward, was vniust?
 There be thousands of Examples; *Vt or in*
Re non dubiâ Exemplis non necessarijs: The
 Reason is plaine; *Warres* are *Vindicta*; Re-
 uenges, Reparations. But Reuenges are
 not infinite, but according to the measure
 of the first Wrong, or Damage. And there-
 fore, when a voluntary *Offensiuè Warre*, by
 the Designe or Fortune of the *Warre*, is
 turned to a necessary *Defensiuè Warre*, the
 Scene of the Tragedy is changed, and it is
 a new Act to beginne. For the particular
 actions of *Warre*, though they are com-
 plicate in Fact, yet they are separate and di-

distinct in Right ; Like to crosse Suits in
Ciuill Pleas, which are sometimes both iust.
 But this is so cleare, as needeth no further
 to be insisted vpon. And yet, if in things so
 cleare, it were fit to speake of more or lesse
 cleare, in our present Cause, it is the more
 cleare on our part, because the Possession
 of *Bohemia* is sciled with the *Emperor*. For
 though it be true, that, *Non datur Compensatio Iniuriarum*; yet were there somewhat
 more Colour to detain the *Palatinate*,
 as in the nature of a Recouery, in Value
 or Compensation, if *Bohemia* had beene
 lost, or were still the Stage of the *Warre*.
 Of this therefore I speake no more. As for
 the Title of *Proscription* or *Forfeiture*,
 wherein the *Emperour* (vpon the matter)
 hath beene Iudge and Party, and hath
 iusticed himselfe, God forbid but that it
 should well endure an Appeale to a *Warre*.
 For certainly the *Court of Heauen*, is as well
 a *Chancery*, to saue and debarre *Forfeitures*,
 as a *Court of Common Law* to decide Rights;
 And there would bee worke enough, in
Germany, *Italy*, and other Parts, if Impe-
 riall

riall Forfeitures should goe for good Titles.

Thus much for the first Ground of *Warre with Spaine*, being in the Nature of a *Plaint*, for the *Recouery of the Palatinate*; Omitting here that which mought be the Seed of a larger Discourse, and is verified by a number of Examples; That whatsoever is gained by an Abusive Treaty, ought to be restored *in Integrum*. As wee see the daily Experience of this in *Ciuilt Pleas*; For the Images of great things are best seene contracted into small Glasses; Wee see (I say) that all *Pretorian Courts*, if any of the *Parties* be entertained or laid asleepe, vnder pretence of Arbitrement or Accord, & that the other *Party*, during that time, doth cautelously get the start and aduantage at *Common Law*, though it bee to Iudgement and Execution; Yet the *Pretorian Court* will set backe all things *in statu quo prius*, no respect had to such Euiction or Dispossession. Lastly, let there be no mistaking; As if when I speake of a *Warre* for the *Recouery of the Palatinate*, I meant, that it

must be *in lineâ rectâ*, vpon that Place : For looke into *ius faciale*, and all Examples, and it will be found to be without scruple; That after a Legation *ad Res repetendas*, and a Refusall, and a Denuntiation or Indiction of a *Warre*, the *Warre* is no more confined to the Place of the Quarrell, but is left at large, and to choice, (as to the particular conducting Designs,) as Opportunities and Aduantages shall inuite.

To proceed therefore to the second Ground of a *Warre* with *Spaine*; We haue set it downe to be; *A iust feare of the Subuersion of our Ciuill Estate*. So then, the *War* is not for the *Palatinate* onely, but for *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, our *King*, our *Prince*, our *Nation*, all that we haue. Wherein two things are to be proued. The one, that a *iust Feare*, (without an Actuall Inuasion or Offence,) is a sufficient Ground of a *War*, and in the Nature of a true *Defensue*; The other, that wee haue towards *Spaine* Cause of *iust Feare*; I say *iust Feare*: For as the *Ci- uilians*

uilians doe well define, that the Legall Feare is, *Iustus Metus qui cadit in constantem Virum*, in priuate Causes; So there is, *Iustus Metus qui cadit in constantem Senatum*, in causâ publicâ; Not out of vmbages, light Icalousies, Apprehensions a farre off; But out of cleare Foresight of imminent Danger.

Concerning the former Proposition, it is good to heare what time saith. *Tbucydides*, in his Inducement to his Story of the great Warre of Peloponnesus, let's downe in plaine termes, that the true Cause of that Warre was; The ouergrowing Greatnesse of the Athenians, and the feare that the Lacedemonians stood in thereby; And doth not doubt to call it, A necessity imposed vpon the Lacedemonians of a Warre: Which are the Words of a meere Defensiuē: Adding, that the other Causes were but Specious and Popular. *Verissimam quidem, sed minimè sermone celebratam, arbitror extitisse Belli Causam, Athenienses magnos effectos, & Lacedemonijs formidolosos, necessitatem illis imposuisse Bel-landi: Quæ autem propalam ferebantur vtrunque*

vtrunque Cause, iste fuerunt, &c. The truest
 Cause of this Warre, though least voyced, I
 conceiue to haue beene this; That the Atheni-
 ans, being growne great, to the terrour of the
 Lacedemonians, did impose vpon them a ne-
 cessity of a Warre: But the Causes that went
 abroad in speech were these; &c. Sulpitius
 Galba, Consul, when he perswaded the Ro-
 mans to a Preuentiu Warre, with the latter
 Philip King of Macedon, in regard of the
 great Preparations which Philip had then
 on foot, and his Designes to ruine some of
 the Confederates of the Romans, confident-
 ly saith; That they who tooke that for an
 Offensive War, vnderstood not the state of
 the Question. Ignorare videmini mihi,
 (Quirites,) non vtrum bellum an pacem ha-
 beatis, vos consuli, (neque enim liberum id vo-
 bis permittet Philippus, qui terrâ marique in-
 gens bellum molitur,) sed vtrum in Macedo-
 niam legiones transportetis, an hostem in Ita-
 liam recipiatis. Ye seeme to me (ye Romans,)
 not to vnderstand, that the Consultation be-
 fore you, is not, whether you shall haue Warre
 or Peace, (for Philip will take order you shall
 be

be no choosers, who prepareth a mighty Warre both by Land and Sea ;) but whether you shall transport the Warre into Macedon, or receiue it into Italy. Antiochus, when he incited Prusias King of Bithynia, (at that time in league with the Romans,) to ioyne with him in Warre against them, setteth before him, a iust Feare, of the ouersprea- ding Greatnesse of the Romans, comparing it to a Fire that continually tooke, and spread from Kingdome to Kingdome : *Venire Romanos ad omnia Regna tollenda, ut nullum vsquam orbis terrarum nisi Romanum imperium esset; Philippum & Nabin expugnatos, se tertium peti ; Vt quisque proximus ab oppresso sit, per omnes velut continens incendium peruasurū.* That the Romans came to pull downe all Kingdomes, and to make the State of Rome an vniuersall Monarchie; That Philip and Nabis were already ruinated, and now was his turn to be assailed: So that as euery State lay next to the oiber that was oppressed, so the fire perpetually grazed. Wherein it is well to be noted, that towards ambitious States, (which are noted to aspire to great

Monarchies, and to seeke vpon all occasions to enlarge their Dominions,) *Crescunt Argumenta iusti Metus* : All particular teares doe grow and multiply out of the Contemplation of the generall Courses and Practise of such States. Therefore in Deliberations of *Warre* against the *Turke*, it hath beene often, with great iudgement, maintained ; That *Christian Princes* and *States* haue alwayes a sufficient Ground of *Inuasiue Warre* against the *Enemie* : Not for *Cause of Religion*, but vpon a iust *Fear*; Forasmuch as it is a *Fundamentall Law*, in the *Turkish Empire*, that they may (without any other prouocation,) make warre vpon *Christendome*, for the *Propagation* of their *Law* ; So that there lieth vpon the *Christians* a perpetuall *Fear* of a *Warre*, (hanging ouer their heads,) from them : And therefore, they may at all times, (as they thinke good,) be vpon the *Preuention*. *Demosthenes* exposeth to scorne *Wars* which are not *Preuentiue*, comparing those that make them, to country Fellowes in a *Fence Schoole*, that neuer ward till the blow

blow be past: *Vt Barbari Pugiles dimicare solent, ita vos bellum geritis cum Philippo, Ex his enim is qui ictus est, ictui semper inhaeret: Quod si eum alibi verberes, illò manus transfert; Ictum autem depellere, aut prospicere, neque scit, neque vult.* As Country Fellowes use to doe when they play at Wasters, such a kinde of warre doe you (Athenians) make with Philip; For with them hee that gets a blow, streight falleth to ward when the blow is past, And if you strike him in another place, thither goes his hand likewise: But to put by, or foresee a blow, they neither haue the skill, nor the will.

Clinias the Candian, (in Plato,) speaks desperately and wildly; As if there were no such thing as *Peace* betweene Nations; But that euery Nation expects but his advantage to Warre vpon another. But yet in that Excesse of Speech, there is thus much that may haue a ciuill Construction; Namely, that euery State ought to stand vpon his guard, and rather preuent, than be preuented. His words are; *Quam rem ferè vocant Pacem, nudum & inane No-*

men est ; Reuera autem omnibus, aduersus omnes Ciuitates, bellum sempiternum perdurat. That which Men, for the most part, call Peace, is but a naked and empty Name ; But the truth is, that there is euer betweene all Estates a secret Warre. I know well this Speech is the Obiection, and not the Decision, and that it is after refuted ; But yet (as I said before) it beares thus much of Truth ; That if that generall Malignity, and Predisposition to Warre, (which hee vnruly figureth to be in all Nations,) be produced and extended to a iust Feare of being oppressed, then it is no more a true Peace, but a Name of a Peace.

As for the Opinion of *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, it demands not so much towards a Warre, as a iust Feare ; But rather commeth neare the Opinion of *Clinias* ; As if there were euer amongst Nations a Brooding of a War, and that there is no sure League but Impuissance to doe hurt. For he, in the Treaty of Peace with the *Lacedemonians*, speaketh plaine language ; Telling them, there could be no true and secure Peace,
except

except the *Lacedemonians* yeelded to those things, which being granted, it would be no longer in their power, to hurt the *Athenians*, though they would. And to say truth, if one marke it well, this was, in all Memory, the maine peece of Wisdome, in strong and prudent Counsels ; To bee in perpetuall watch, that the *States* about them, should neither by Approach, nor by Encrease of Dominion, nor by Ruining Confederates, nor by blocking of Trade, nor by any the like meanes, haue it in their power, to hurt or annoy the *States* they serue ; And whensoever any such Cause did but appeare, straight-ways to buy it out with a Warre, and neuer to take vp Peace at credit, and vpon Interest. It is so memorable, as it is yet as fresh, as if it were done yesterday, how that *Triumvirate* of *Kings*, (*Henry* the eight of *England*, *Francis* the first of *France*, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King of *Spaine*,) were in their times so prouident, as scarce a Palme of Ground could bee gotten by either of the Three, but that the other Two would

be sure to doe their best, to set the Ballance of *Europe* vpright againe. And the like diligence was vled in the Age before, by that League, (wherewith *Guicciardine* beginneth his Story, and maketh it (as it were) the Kalender of the good dayes of *Italy*,) which was contracted betweene *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*, *Lorenzo* of *Medici* Potentate of *Florence*, and *Lodouico Zforza* Duke of *Milan*, designed chiefly against the growing Power of the *Venetians* ; But yet so, as the Confederates had a perpetuall eye, one vpon another, that none of them should ouertop. To conclude therefore, howsoeuer some *Schoolemen*, (otherwise Reuerend Men , yet fitter to guide Penknives, than Swords,) seeme precisely to stand vpon it ; That euery *Offensiu*e *Warre* must be *Vltio* ; A *Reuenge*, that presupposeth a precedent Assault or Iniurie ; yet neither doe they descend to this Point, (which we now handle,) of a *iust Feare* ; Neither are they of authority to iudge this Question against all the Presidents of time. For certainly, as long as Men are Men, (the
Sonnes,

Sonnes, as the Poets allude, of *Prometheus*, and not of *Epimetheus*,) and as long as Reason is Reason; A *iust Feare* will be a iust Cause of a *Preuentive War*; But especially, if it be Part of the Case, that there be a *Nation*, that is manifestly detected, to aspire to *Monarchie*, and new Acquests; Then other *States* (assuredly) cannot be iustly accused, for not staying for the first Blow ; Or for not accepting *Polipheus* Courtesie, to be the last that shall be eaten vp.

Nay I obiectue further, that in that passage of *Plato*, which I cited before, (and euen in the *Tenet* of that Person, that beareth the Resolving Part, and not the Obiecting part,) a *iust Feare* is iustified for a Cause of an *Inuasive Warre*, though the same *Feare* proceed not, from the fault of the forraine State, to bee assailed. For it is there insinuated; That if a State, out of the distemper of their owne Body, doe feare Sedition and intestine Troubles, to breake out amongst themselves, they may discharge their owne ill Humours, vpon a forraine *Warre*, for a Cure. And this kind of

of Cure, was tendred by *Iasser Coligni* Admirall of France, to *Charles* the ninth, the French King, when by a viue and forcible perswasion, he moued him to a warre vpon *Flanders*, for the better Extinguishment of the *Ciuilt Warres* of France; But neither was that Counsell prosperous; Neither will I maintaine that Position; For I will neuer set *Politiques* against *Ethicks*; Especially for that true *Ethicks* are but as a Hand-maid to *Diuinity* and *Religion*. Surely, *Saint Thomas*, (who had the largest heart of the *Schoole Diuines*,) bendeth chiefly his stile against the depraued Passions, which reigne in making *Warres*, speaking out of *S. Augustine*; *Nocendi Cupiditas, vlciscendi Crudelitas, implacatus & implacabilis Animus, Feritas Rebellandi, Libido Dominandi, & si quæ sunt similia, hæc sunt quæ in Bellis iure culpantur*. And the same *Saint Thomas*, in his owne Text, defining of the iust Causes of a *Warre*, doth leaue it vpon very generall Tearmes; *Requiritur ad Bellum Causa iusta, vt scilicet illi qui impugnantur, propter aliquam culpam, Impugnationem mereantur*;

reantur ; For *Impugnatio Culpe*, is a farre more general word, than *ultio Iniuriæ*. And thus much for the first *Proposition*, of the *Second Ground*, of a War with Spaine: Namely, that a *iust Feare* is a *iust Cause of a War*; And that a *Preuentive Warre* is a *true Defense*.

The Second or *Minor Proposition* was this ; That this *Kingdome* hath Cause of *iust Feare* of Ouerthrow from Spaine. Wherein it is true, that *Feares* are euer seene in dimmer lights, than *Facts*. And on the other side, *Feares* vlc (many times) to be represented in such an Imaginary fashion, as they rather dazell Mens eyes, than open them. And therefore I will speake in that manner, which the Subiect requires ; That is, probably, and moderately, and briefly. Neither will I deduce these *Feares* to present Occurrences ; but point only at generall Grounds, leauing the rest to more secret Counsels.

Is it nothing, that the *Crowne of Spaine*, hath enlarged the Bounds thereof, within this last sixscore yeares, much more than the *Ottomans* ? I speake not of Matches, or
E Vnions,

Unions, but of Armes, Occupations, Inuasions. *Granada, Naples, Milan, Portugal, the East and West Indies*; All these are actuall Additions to that *Crowne*. They had a mind to *French Britaine*, the lower Part of *Piccardi*, and *Piemont*; but they haue let fall their Bit. They haue, at this day, such a howering possession of the *Valtoline*, as an Hobby hath ouer a Larke: And the *Palatinate* is in their Tallons: So that nothing is more manifest, than that this *Nation of Spaine* runnes a race (still) of *Empire*; When all other *States of Christendome* stand in effect at a stay. Looke then a little further, into the Titles, whereby they haue acquired, and doe now hold these new Portions of their *Crowne*, and you will finde them of so many varieties, and such natures, (to speake with due respect,) as may appeare to be easily minted, and such as can hardly at any time be wanting. And therefore, so many new Conquests & Purchases, so many Strokes of the Larum Bell of *Feare*, and Awaking, to other *Nations*; And the Facility of the Titles, which hand

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ouerhead haue serued their turne, doth ring the Peale so much the sharper, and the lowder.

Shall wee descend from their generall Disposition, to inlarge their Dominions, to their particular Disposition, and Eye of Appetite, which they haue had towards vs ; They haue now twice sought to impatronise themselues of this *Kingdome of England* ; once by *Marriage* with *Queene Mary* ; And the second time by *Conquest* in 88. when their Forces by Sea and Land, were not inferiour to those they haue now. And at that time in 88. the Countell and Designe of *Spaine*, was, by many aduertisements, reuealed and laid open to bee ; That they found the *Warre* vpon the *Low-Countries*, so churlish and longsome, as they grew then to a Resolution ; That as long as *England* stood in state to succour those *Countries*, they should but consume themselues in an endlesse *Warre* ; And therefore there was no other way, but to assaile and depresse *England*, which was as a Backe of Steele to the

Flemmings. And who can warrant (I pray) that the same Counsell and Designe will not returne againe? So as we are in a strange *Dilemma* of Danger : For if wee suffer the *Flemmings* to be ruined, they are our Outworke, and wee shall remaine Naked and Dismantled : If wee succour them strongly, (as is fit,) and set them vpon their feet, and doe not withall weaken *Spaine*, we hazard to change the Scene of the *War*, and to turne it vpon *Ireland*, or *England*: Like vnto *Rheumes* and *Defluxions*; which, if you apply a strong *Repercussive* to the Place affected, and doe not take away the Cause of the Disease, will shift, and fall straightwayes to another Ioynt, or Place. They haue also twice inuaded *Ireland*: Once vnder the *Popes Banner*, when they were defeated by the *Lo. Grey*; And after in their owne name, when they were defeated by the *Lo. Mountioy*. So as let this suffice for a Taste of their Disposition towards vs. But it will be said : This is an Almanacke for the old yeare: Since 88. all hath beene well; *Spaine* hath not assailed this

this *Kingdome*, howloever by two feuerall Inuasions from vs mightily prouoked. It is true, but then consider ; that immediately after 88. they were imbrayled, for a great time, in the Protection of the League of *France*, whereby they had their hands full ; After being brought extreme low, by their vast and continuall Embracements, they were enforced to be quiet, that they might take Breath, and doe Reparations vpon their former Wastes. But now of late Things seeme to come ouerpace to their former Estate. Nay with farre greater Disadvantage to vs. For now that they haue almost continued, and (as it were,) marched, their Dominions, from *Milan*, by the *Valtoline*, and *Palitinate*, to the *Low-Countries* ; We see how they thirst and pant after the vtter Ruine of those *States* ; Hauiug in contempt almost the *German Nation*, and doubting little opposition except it come from *England* : Whereby either we must suffer the *Dutch* to be ruined, to our owne manifest preiudice ; Or put it vpon the hazard, I spake of before, that *Spaine*

will cast at the fairest. Neither is the point of *Internall Danger*, which groweth vpon vs, to be forgotten; This; That the Party of the *Papists* in *England* are become more knotted, both in Dependance towards *Spaine*, and amongst themselves, than they haue beene. Wherein againe comes to be remembred the Case of 88: For then also it appeared, by diuers secret letters, that the Designe of *Spaine* was, (for some yeares before the inuasion attempted,) to prepare a Party in this *Kingdome*, to adhere to the *Forrainer* at his comming. And they bragged, that they doubted not, but to abuse and lay asleepe the *Queene* and *Counsell* of *England*, as to haue any feare of the Party of *Papists* here; For that they knew (they said) the *State* would but cast the eye, and looke about, to see whether there were any Eminent Head of that Party, vnder whom it might vnite it selfe; And finding none worth the thinking on, the *State* would rest secure, and take no apprehension; Whereas they meant, (they said,) to take a course, to deale with the People, and particulars,

ticulars, by Reconcilements, and Confessions, and Secret Promises, and cared not for any Head of Party. And this was the true reason, why after that the *Seminaries* beganne to blusse, and to make Missions into *England*, (which was about the three and twentieth yeare of *Queene Elizabeth*, at what time also was the first suspicion of the *Spanish Inuasion*,) then, and not before, grew the sharpe and seuerer Lawes, to be made against the Papists. And therefore the *Papists* may doe well, to change their thanks ; And whereas they thanke *Spaine* for their Favours, to thanke them for their Perills and Miseries, if they should fall vpon them : For that nothing euer made their Case so ill, as the Doubt of the Greatnesse of *Spaine* ; which adding Reason of *State*, to Matter of Conscience and Religion, did what the *Lawes* against them. And this Case also seemeth (in some sort) to returne againe at this time ; except the Clemencie of his *Maiesty*, and the *State*, doe super-abound : As, for my part, I doe wish it should ; And that the Proceedings
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towards them, may rather tend to Security, and Prouidence, and Point of State, than to Persecution for Religion. But to conclude; These Things briefly touched, may serue, as in a Subiect Coniecturall, and Future, for to represent, how iust Cause of Feare, this *Kingdome* may haue towards *Spaine*: Omitting (as I said before,) all present, and more secret Occurrences.

The third Ground of a *Warre* with *Spaine*, I haue set downe to be; *A iust Feare of the Subuersion of our Church and Religion*. Which needeth little Speech: For if this *Warre* be a *Defensue*, (as I haue proued it to be,) no Man will doubt; That a *Defensue Warre*, against a Forrainer, for Religion, is lawfull. Of an *Offensue Warre* there is more Dispute: And yet in that instance of the *Warre* for the *Holy Land*, and *Sepulcher*, I doe wonder sometimes, that the *Schoole Men* want words to defend that, which *S. Bernard* wanted words to commend. But I, that in this little Extract of a *Treatise*, doe omit things necessary, am
not

not to handle things vnnecessary. No man, I say, will doubt, but if the *Pope*, or *King* of *Spaine*, would demand of vs to forsake our *Religion*, vpon paine of a *Warre*, it were as vniust a Demand, as the *Persians* made to the *Grecians* of *Land* and *Water*; Or the *Ammonites* to the *Israelites* of their *Right Eies*. And we see all the *Heathen* did stile their *Defensue Wars*, *Pro Aris & Focis*; Placing their *Altars*, before their *Hearths*. So that it is in vaine of this to speake further. Onely this is true; That the *Feare* of the *Subuersion* of our *Religion* from *Spaine*, is the more iust, for that all other *Catholique Princes* and *States*, content and containe themselves, to maintaine their *Religion* within their owne *Dominions*, and meddle not with the *Subiects* of other *States*; Whereas the *Practice* of *Spaine* hath beene, both in *Charles* the fifth's time, and in the time of the *League* in *France*, by *Warre*; And now with vs, by *Conditions* of *Treaty*, to intermeddle with *Forraine States*, and to declare themselves *Protectors* generall, of the *Party* of *Catholiques*, through

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the World. As if the Crowne of *Spaine* had a little of this ; That they would plant the *Popes Law* by *Armes*, as the *Ottomans* doe the *Law of Mabomet*. Thus much concerning the first maine point of *Iustifying the Quarrell*, if the *King* shall enter into a *War* ; For this that I haue said, and all that followeth to be said, is but to shew what he may doe.

The Second maine Part, of that I haue propounded to speake of, is the *Ballance of Forces betweene Spaine and vs*. And this also tendeth to no more, but what the *King* may doe. For *what hee may doe*, is of two kinds : What hee may doe as *Iust* ; And what he may doe as *Possible*. Of the one I haue already spoken ; Of the other I am now to speake. I said, *Spaine* was no such *Giant* ; And yet if he were a *Giant*, it will be, but as it was betweene *Dauid* and *Goliath* ; for *God is on our side*. But to leave all Arguments that are Supernaturall, and to speake in an Humane and Politique Sense ; I am led to thinke that *Spaine* is no overmatch

match for *England*, by that which leadeth all Men ; That is, *Experience*, and *Reason*. And with *Experience* I will beginne ; For there all *Reason* beginneth.

Is it Fortune, (shall we thinke,) that in all Actions of *Warre* or Armes, great and small, which haue happened these many yeares, euer since *Spaine* and *England* haue had any thing to debate, one with the other, the *English*, vpon all Encounters, haue perpetually come off with honour, and the better ? It is not Fortune sure ; Shee is not so constant. There is somewhat in the *Nation*, and Naturall Courage of the People, or some such thing. I will make a brieft List of the Particulars themselves, in an Historicall Truth, no wayes strowted, nor made greater by Language. This were a fit Speech, (you will say,) for a *Generall*, in the Head of an Army, when they were going to Battell ; Yes ; And it is no lesse fit Speech, to bee spoken, in the Head of a Counsell, vpon a Deliberation of Entrance into a *Warre*. Neither speake I this to disparage the *Spanish Nation*, whom I take to

be of the best Souldiers in *Europe*. But that
 forteth to our honour, if wee still haue had
 the better hand.

In the yeare 1578. was that famous
Lammas Day, which buried the Reputa-
 tion of *Don Ihuán d' Austria*, himselte not
 suruiuing long after. *Don Ihuán*, being su-
 perieur in Forces, assisted by the *Prince of*
Parma, *Mondragon*, *Mansell*, and other the
 best Commanders of *Spaine*, confident of
 Victory, charged the Army of the *States*,
 neere *Rimenant*, brauely & furiously at the
 first; But after a Fight, maintained by the
 space of a whole day; was repulsed, and
 forced to a Retrait, with great slaughter
 of his Men; And the Course of his further
 Enterprizes was wholly arrested; And this
 chiefly by the Prowesse and Vertue of the
Engliss and *Scottiss* Troupes, vnder the
 Conduct of Sir *Iohn Norris*, and Sir *Robert*
Stuart, Colonels. Which Troupes came
 to the Army but the day before, harrassed
 with a long and wearisome march: and (as
 it is left for a memorable circumstance in
 all Stories,) the Souldiers, being more sen-
 sible

sible of a little Heat of the Sunne, than of any cold Feare of Death, cast away their Armour, and Garments from them, and fought in their Shirts: And, as it was generally conceiued, had it not beene, that the Count of Boffu was slacke, in charging the Spaniards, vpon their Retreit, this Fight had sorted to an absolute Defeat. But it was enough, to chastise *Don Ihuán*, for his insidious Treaty of Peace, wherewith he had abused the States at his first comming. And the Fortune of the day, (besides the testimonie of all Stories,) may be the better ascribed to the Seruice of the *English* and *Scottish*, by comparison of this Charge neare *Rimenant*, (where the *English* and *Scottish*, in great numbers, came in action,) with the like Charge giuen by *Don Ihuán*, halfe a yeare before at *Gemblours*, where the Successe was contrary: There being at that time, in the Army, but a Handfull of *English* and *Scottish*, and they put in disarray, by the Horsemen, of their owne Fellowes.

The first Dart of Warre, which was

throwne from *Spaine*, or *Rome*, vpon the Realme of *Ireland*, was in the yeare 1580 For the Designe of *Stukeley* blew ouer into *Africke*; And the Attempt of *Sanders*, and *Fitz-Maurice*, had a spice of Madnesse. In that yeare, *Ireland* was inuaded by *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces, vnder the *Popes* Banner, and the Conduct of *Sant Iosepho*, to the number of 700. or better, which landed at *Smerwicke* in *Kerey*. A poore Number it was, to conquer *Ireland*, to the *Popes* vse; For their Designe was no lesse: But withall they brought Armes for 5000. Men aboue their owne company, intending to arme so many of the *Rebels* of *Ireland*: And their purpose was, to fortifie in some strong Place of the wilde and Desolate Country, and there to nestle till greater Succours came; They being hastened vnto this Enterprise, vpon a speciall Reason of State, not proper to the Enterprise it selfe; Which was, by the Inuasion of *Ireland*, and the Noyse thereof, to trouble the Counsell of *England*, and to make a diuersion of certaine Aids, that then were preparing

paring from hence, for the *Low Countries*. They chose a place, where they erected a *Fort*, which they called the *Fort del Or*, And from thence they bolted like Beasts of the Forreſt, ſometimes into the Woods and Faſtneſſes, and ſometimes backe againe to their Den. Soone after Siege was laid to the *Fort*, by the Lord *Gray*, then Deputy, with a ſmaller Number than thoſe were within the *Fort*; Venturouſly indeed; But haſte was made to attache them before the *Rebels* came in to them. After the ſiege of foure dayes only, and two or three Sallies, with loſſe on their part, they that ſhould haue made good the *Fort* for ſome moneths, till new Succours came from *Spaine*, or at leaſt from the *Rebels* of *Ireland*, yeelded vp themſelues, without conditions, at the end of thoſe foure daies. And for that there were not in the *Engliſh* Army enough to keepe euery man a Priſoner; And for that alſo the *Deputy* expected inſtantly to be aſſailed by the *Rebels*; And againe, there were no Barks to throw them into, and ſend them away by Sea; They were

were all put to the sword : With which *Queene Elizabeth* was afterwards much displeased.

In the yeare 1582. was that Memorable *Retreit* of *Gaunt* ; Than the which there hath not beene an Exploit of *Warre* more celebrated. For in the true iudgement of Men of *Warre*, honourable *Retreits* are no wayes inferiour to braue Charges ; As hauing lesse of Fortune, more of Discipline, and as much of Valour. There were to the number of 300. Horse, and as many thousand Foot *English*, (commanded by Sir *Iohn Norris*,) charged by the Prince of *Parma*, comming vpon them with 7000. Horse ; Besides that the whole Army of *Spaniards* was ready to march on. Neuerthelesse Sir *Iohn Norris* maintained a *Retreit* without Dilarray, by the space of some miles, (part of the way champagne,) vnto the City of *Gaunt*, with lesse losse of Men than the Enemy : The D. of *Aniou*, and the Prince of *Aurange*, beholding this noble Action, from the *Wals* of *Gaunt*, as in a Theatre, with great Admiracion.

In the yeare 1585. followed the Prosperous Expedition of Drake, and Carlile, into the *West Indies*. In the which, I set aside the Taking of *S. Iago*, and *S. Domingo* in *Hispaniola*, as Surprises, rather than Encounters. But that of *Catargena*, where the Spaniards had warning of our comming, & had put themselves in their full strength, was one of the hottest Seruices, & most dangerous Assaults, that hath bin known. For the Accessse to the Town, was only by a Neck of Land, betweene the Sea on the one part, and the Harbour Water or Inner Sea on the other; Fortified cleane ouer with a strong Rampier and Barracado; So as vpon the Ascent of our Men, they had both great Ordnance, and small Shot, that thundred and shoured vpon them, from the Rampier in front, and from the Gallies that lay at Sea in flanke. And yet they forced the Passage, and wan the Towne, being likewise very well manned. As for the Expedition of Sir Francis Drake, in the yeare 1587. for the destroying of the Spanish Shipping, and Prouision vpon their owne Coast;

As I cannot say, that there interuened in that Enterprise, any sharpe Fight or Encounter; So neuerthelesse, it did strangely discover, either that *Spaine* is very weake at home, or very slow to moue; When they suffered a small Fleet of *English*, to make an hostile Inuasion, or Incursion, vpon their Hauens and Roads, from *Cadex* to *Capa Sacra*, and thence to *Cascais*; And to fire, sinke, and carry away, at the least, 10000. tonne of their great Shipping, besides 50. or 60. of their smaller Vessels: And that in the fight, and vnder the Fauour of their *Forts*; And almost vnder the Eye of their great *Admirall*, (the best *Commander* of *Spaine* by Sea,) the *Marquis de Santa Cruz*, without euer being disputed with, by any fight of importance. I remember *Drake*, in the vaunting stile of a Souldier, would call this Enterprise; *The Cingeing of the King of Spaines Beard.*

The Enterprise of 88. deserueth to bee stood vpon a little more fully, being a Miracle of Time. There armed from *Spaine*, in the yeare 1588. the greatest *Navy* that euer

ouerſwam vpon the Sea. For though there haue beene farre greater Fleets for Number, yet for the Bulke and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Prouiſions, neuer the like. The Deſigne was to make, not an Inuaſion only, but an viter Conqueſt of this Kingdome. The Number of Veſſels were 130. whereof Galliaſſes and Gallions 72, goodly Ships, like floating Towers, or Caſtles, manned with 30000. Souldiers, and Mariners. This *Navy* was the Preparation of ſiue whole yeares at the leaſt. It bare it ſelfe alſo vpon Diuine Aſſiſtance; For it receiued ſpeciall Bleſſing from *Pope Ziftus*, and was aſſigned as an *Apoſtolicall Miſſion*, for the reducement of this *Kingdome*, to the obedience of the *See of Rome*. And in further token of this holy Warfare, there were amongſt the reſt of theſe Ships, Twelue, called by the names of the *Twelue Apoſtles*. But it was truly conceiued, that this Kingdome of *England* could neuer be ouerwhelmed, except the Land-Waters came in to the Sea-Tides. Therefore was

there also in readinesse, in *Flanders*, a mighty strong Army of Land-Forces, to the number of 50000. veterane Souldiers, vnder the Conduct of the *Duke of Parma*, the best Commander, next the *French King Henrie* the fourth, of his time. These were designed to ioyne with the forces at Sea; There being prepared a Number of flat bottomed boats, to transport the Land-Forces, vnder the Wing and Protection of the Great *Navy*. For they made no account, but that the *Navy* should be absolutely Master of the Seas. Against these Forces, there were prepared, on our part, to the number of neare 100. Ships; Not so great of Bulke indeed, but of a more nimble Motion, and more seruiceable; Besides a lesse Fleet of 30. Ships, for the Custody of the Narrow Seas. There were also in readinesse, at Land, two Armies; besides other Forces, to the number of 10000, disperled amongst the Coast Townes, in the Southerne Parts. The two Armies were appointed; One of them consisting of 25000. Horse and Foot, for the Repulsing
of

of the Enemy, at their landing; And the other of 25000. for safeguard and attendance about the Court, and the *Queenes* Person. There were also other Dormant Musters of Souldiers, thorowout all Parts of the Realme, that were put in readinesse, but not drawne together. The two Armies were assigned to the Leading of two Generals, Noble Persons, but both of them, rather Courtiers, and Assured to the State, than Martiall Men; yet lined and assisted with Subordinate Commanders, of great Experience, & Valour. The Fortune of the *Warre* made this enterprise, at first, a Play at Base. The *Spanish Navy* set forth out of the *Groyne* in *May*, and was dispersed and driven backe by Weather. Our *Navy* set forth somewhat later out of *Plimouth*, and bare vp towards the Coast of *Spaine*, to haue fought with the *Spanish Navy*; And partly by reason of contrary Winds, partly vpon aduertisement that the *Spaniards* were gone backe, and vpon some doubt also that they might passe by towards the Coast of *England*, whilest wee

were seeking them a farre off, returned likewise into *Plimouth*, about the Middle of *Iuly*. At that time, came more confident Aduertisement, (though false,) not only to the Lord *Admirall*, but to the *Court*, that the *Spaniards* could not possibly come forward that yeare ; Whereupon our *Nauy* was vpon the point of disbanding, and many of our Men gone ashore. At which very time, the *Inuincible Armada*, (for so it was called in a *Spanish* ostentation thorowout *Europe*,) was discouered vpon the *Western* Coast. It was a kinde of Surprise ; For that (as was said,) many of our Men were gone to Land, and our Ships ready to depart. Neuerthelesse the *Admirall*, with such Ships only as could suddenly bee put in readinesse, made forth towards them : In somuch as of 100. Ships, there came scarce thirty to worke. Howbeit with them, and such as came dayly in, we set vpon them, and gaue them the chase. But the *Spaniards*, for want of Courage, (which they called *Commission*,) declined the Fight, casting themselues continually into Roundels,

dels, (their strongest Ships walling in the rest,) and in that manner they made a flying march towards *Callis*. Our Men, by the space of five or six dayes, followed them close, fought with them continually, made great Slaughtier of their Men, tooke two of their great Ships, and gaue diuers others of their Ships their Deaths wounds, whereof soone after they sanke and perished, And (in a word) distressed them almost in the nature of a Defeat ; We our selues, in the meane time, receiuing little or no hurt. Neere *Callis* the *Spaniards* anchored, expecting their Land-forces, which came not. It was afterwards alledged, that the Duke of *Parma* did artificially delay his Comming : But this was, but an Inuention and Pretension giuen out by the *Spaniards* ; Partly vpon a *Spanish* Enuie against that Duke, being an *Italian*, and his Sonne a Competitor to *Portugall* ; But chiefly, to saue the Monstrous Scorne and Disreputation, which they and their Nation receiued, by the Successe of that Enterprise. Therefore their Colours and Excuses (forsooth)

sooth) were, that their Generall by Sea had a limited Commission, not to fight vntill the Land-forces were come in to them : And that the *Duke of Parma* had particular Reaches, and Ends of his owne, vnderhand, to crosse the Designe. But it was both a strange Commission, and a strange obedience to a Commission , for Men in the midst of their owne Bloud, and being so furiously assailed, to hold their hands, contrary to the Lawes of Nature and Necessity. And as for the *Duke of Parma*, he was reasonably well tempted to be true to that Enterprise, by no lesse Promise, than to be made a Feudatary, or Beneficiary *King of England*, vnder the Seignorie (in chiefe) of the *Pope*, and the Protection of the *King of Spaine*. Besides it appeared, that the *Duke of Parma* held his place long after, in the Fauour and Trust of the *King of Spaine*, by the great Employments and Seruices that he performed in *France* : And againe, it is manifest, that the *Duke* did his best to come downe, and to put to Sea : The Truth was, that the *Spanish Navy*,

Navy, vpon those proofes of Fight, which they had with the *English*, finding how much hurt they receiued, and how little hurt they did, by reason of the Aſtiuity and low building of our Ships, and skill of our Sea-men ; And being alſo commanded by a Generall of ſmall Courage and Experience ; And hauing loſt, at the firſt, two of their braueſt Commanders at Sea, *Petro de Valdez*, and *Michael de Oquenda* ; durſt not put it to a Battell at Sea, but ſet vp their reſt wholly vpon the Land-Enterpriſe. On the other ſide, the Transporting of the Land-forces failed in the very Foundation. For whereas the *Counſell of Spaine*, made full account, that their *Navy* ſhould be Maſter of the Sea, and therefore able to guard and protect the Veſſels of Transportation ; When it fell out to the contrary, that the Great *Navy* was diſtreſſed, and had enough to doe to ſaue it ſelfe ; And againe that the *Hollanders* impounded their Land-forces, with a braue Fleet of 30. Saile, excellently well appointed ; Things (I ſay) being in this State, it came

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to

to passe, that the *Duke of Parma* must haue
 flowne, if he would haue come into *Eng-
 land*, for hee could get neither Barke nor
 Mariner to put to Sea: Yet certaine it is,
 that the *Duke* looked still for the comming
 backe of the *Armada*, euen at that time,
 when they were wandring, and making
 their Perambulation vpon the Northerne
 Seas. But to returne to the *Armada*, which
 we left anchored at *Callis*. From thence, (as
Sir Walter Rawlegh was wont prettily to
 say,) *they were suddenly driuen away with
 Squibs*; For it was no more, but a Strata-
 gem of Fire-boats, Manlesse, and sent vp-
 on them by the fauour of the Wind, in the
 night time, that did put them in such ter-
 rour, as they cut their Cables, and left their
 Anchors in the Sea. After they houered
 some 2. or 3. daies about *Graueling*, & there
 againe were beaten in a great Fight, at what
 time our second Fleet, which kept the nar-
 row Seas, was come in, and ioyned to our
 maine Fleet. Thereupon the *Spaniards* en-
 tring into further terrour, and finding also
 diuers of their Ships euery day to sinke,
 lost

lost all courage, & in stead of comming vp into the *Thames Mouth* for *London*, (as their Designe was,) fled on towards the *North*, to seeke their Fortunes ; Being still chaced by the *English Navy* at the heeles, vntill we were faine to giue them ouer for want of Powder. The Breath of *Scotland* the *Spaniards* could not endure ; Neither durst they as Inuaders land in *Ireland* ; But only ennobled some of the Coasts thereof with shipwracks. And so going Northwards aloofe, as long as they had any doubt of being pursued, at last when they were out of reach, they turned, and crossed the Ocean to *Spaine*, hauing lost fourescore of their Ships, and the greater part of their Men. And this was the End of that *Sea-Giant*, the *Inuincible Armada*. Which hauing not so much as fired a Cottage of ours at Land, nor taken a Cockboat of ours at Sea, wandered thorow the Wildernesse of the Northerne Seas ; And according to the Curse in the Scripture ; *Came out against vs one way and fled before vs seven wayes*. Seruing only to make good the iudgement of

an *Astrologer*, long before giuen; *Octuagesimus octauus Mirabilis Annus*; Or rather, to make good, (euen to the astonishment of all Posterity,) the wonderfull Iudgements of God, powred downe, commonly, vpon vast, and proud Aspirings.

In the yeare, that followed, of 1589. we gaue the *Spaniards* no breath, but turned Challengers, and inuaded the Maine of *Spaine*. In which Enterprize, although we failed of our End, which was to settle *Don Antonio* in the *Kingdome* of *Portugall*, yet a Man shall hardly meet with an Action, that doth better reueale the great Secret of the Power of *Spaine*: Which Power, well sought into, will be found, rather to consist in a Veterane Army, (such as vpon seuerall Occasions and Pretensions, they haue euer had on foot, in one part or other of *Christendome*, now by the space of (almost) sixscore yeares,) than in the strength of their Dominions, and Prouinces. For what can be more strange, or more to the Disualuation of the Power of the *Spaniard* vpon the Continent, than that with an Army

Army of a 11000. *Engliſh*, Land Souldiers, and a Fleet of 26. Ships of warre, beſides ſome weake Veſſells for Transportati-
on, we ſhould within the Houre-glaſſe of
two moneths, haue wonne one Towne of
importance by *Eſcalada* ; Battered and af-
ſaulted another; Querthrowne great Forces
in the Field, & that vpon the diſaduantage
of a Bridge ſtrongly barracadoed; Landed
the Army in three ſeueral Places of his
Kingdome ; Marched ſeuē dayes in the
Heart of his Countries ; Lodged three
nights in the Suburbs of his principall Ci-
ty ; Beaten his Forces into the Gates there-
of ; Poſſeſſed two of his Frontire Forts ;
And come off, after all this, with ſmall
loſſe of Men, otherwiſe than by Sickneſſe.
And it was verily thought, that had it not
beene for foure great Diſfauiours of that
Voyage ; (That is to ſay ; The failing in
ſundry Prouiſions that were promiſed,
eſpecially of Cannons for Battery ; The
vaine Hopes of *Don Antonio* concerning
the People of the Country, to come in to
his aid ; The Diſappointment of the Fleet

that was directed to come vp the *Riuer* of *Lisbone* ; And lastly, the Diseases which spread in the Army, by reason of the Heat of the Season, and of the Souldiers Misrule in Diet ;) the Enterprise had succeeded, and *Lisbone* had beene carried. But howsoever, it makes prooffe to the World, that an Inuasion of a few *English* vpon *Spaine*, may haue iust hope of Victory, at least of Pasport to depart safely.

In the yeare 1591. was that Memorable Fight, of an *English Ship* called the *Reuenge*, vnder the Command of Sir *Richard Grenuill*; Memorable (I say) euen beyond credit, and to the Height of some Heroicall Fable. And though it were a Defeat, yet it exceeded a Victory ; Being like the Act of *Sampson*, that killed more Men at his Death, than he had done in the time of all his Life. This *Ship*, for the space of 15. hours, late like a Stagge amongst Hounds, at the bay, and was seiged, and fought with, in turne, by 15. great Ships of *Spaine* ; Part of a Nauy of 55. Ships in all ; The rest like Abettors looking on a farre off. And amongst

amongst the 15. Ships that fought, the great *Sant Philippo* was one ; A Ship of 1500. tonne ; Prince of the twelue *Sea Apostles* ; Which was right glad, when she was shifted off from the *Reuenge*. This braue ship the *Reuenge*, being manned on-ly with 200. (Souldiers and Mariners,) whereof 80. lay sicke, yet neuerthelesse after a Fight maintained (as was laid) of 15. houres, and two Ships of the Enemy sunke by her side ; Besides many more torne and battered, and great slaughter of Men; neuer came to be entred, but was taken by Composition; The Enemies themselues hauing in admiration the Vertue of the Commander, and the whole Tragedy of that Ship.

In the yeare 1596, was the Second *Inua-sion*, that we made vpon the Maine Territories of *Spaine* ; Prosperously archieued by that Worthy and Famous, *Robert Earle of Essex*, in consort with the Noble Earle of *Nottingham*, that now liueth, then *Admirall*. This Iourny was like Lightning ; For in the space of 14. hours, the *King of Spaines Navy* was destroyed, & the Town of *Cadex* taken.

taken. The *Navy* was no lesse than 50. tall Ships, besides 20. Gallies to attend them. The Ships were straight waies beaten, & put to flight, with such terrour, as the *Spaniards*, in the end, were their owne Executioners, and fired them all with their owne Hands. The Gallies, by the benefit of the Shores and Shallowes, got away. The Towne was a faire, strong, well built, and rich City; Famous in Antiquity, and now most spoken of for this Disaster. It was manned with 4000. Souldiers Foot, and some 400. Horse; It was sacked, and burned, though great Clemency was vsed towards the Inhabitants. But that which is no lesse strange than the sudden Victory, is the great patience of the *Spaniards*; Who, though wee staid vpon the place diuers dayes, yet neuer offered vs any play then, nor euer put vs in suit, by any Action of Reuenge, or Reparation, at any time after.

In the yeare 1600. was the Battell of *Newport* in the *Low-Countries*, where the Armies of the *Arch-Duke*, and the *States*, tried it out by a iust Battell. This was the
only

only Battell, that was fought in those Countries, these many yeares. For Battels in the *French Warres* haue beene frequent; But in the *Warres of Flanders*, rare, as the Nature of a Defensiuē requireth. The Forces of both Armies were not much vn-equall: That of the *States* exceeded somewhat in Number; But that againe was recompensed in the Quality of the Souldiers; For those of the *Spanish* Part were of the Flower of all their Forces. The *Arch-Duke* was the Assailant, and the Preuenter, and had the fruit of his Diligence and Celerity. For he had charged certaine Companies of *Scottishmen*, to the Number of eight hundred, sent to make good a Passage, and thereby seuered from the Body of the Army, and cut them all in peeces: For they like a braue Infantry, when they could make no honourable Retreit, and would take no dishonourable Flight, made good the place with their Liues. This Entrance of the Battell did what the Courage of the *Spaniards*, though it dulled their Swords; So as they came proudly

I on,

on, confident to defeat the whole Armie. The Encounter of the Maine Battell, which followed, was a iust Encounter, not hastening to a sudden Rout, nor the Fortune of the day resting vpon a few former Ranks, but foughten out to the prooffe by seuerall Squadrons, and not without variety of successe ; *Stat pedi pes, densusque viro vir*. There fell out an Errour in the *Dutch* Army, by the ouerhasty Medly of some of their Men, with the Enemies, which hindered the Playing of their great Ordnance. But the End was, that the *Spaniards* were vtterly defeated, and neare 5000. of their Men, in the Fight, and in the Execution, slaine, and taken ; Amongst whom were many of the principall Persons of their Army. The Honour of the Day was, both by the Enemy, and the *Dutch* themselves, ascribed vnto the *English* ; Of whom Sir *Francis Vere*, in a priuate *Commentary*, which he wrote of that Seruice, leaueth testified ; That of 1500. in number, (for they were no more,) 800. were slaine in the field ; And (which is almost incredible in a day of victory,)

victory,) of the remaining 700. two only Men came off vnhurt. Amongst the rest Sir *Francis Vere* himselfe had the principall honour of the seruice, vnto whom the Prince of *Aurange* (as is said) did transmit the Direction of the Army for that day. And in the next place, Sir *Horace Vere* his Brother, that now liueth, who was the principall in the A^duie part. The Seruice also, of Sir *Edward Cecil*, Sir *Iohn Ogle*, and diuers other braue Gentlemen, was eminent.

In the yeare 1601. followed the Battell of *Kinsale*, in *Ireland*. By this *Spanish Inuasion* of *Ireland*, (which was in September that yeare,) a Man may ghesse, how long time a *Spaniard* will liue in *Irish* Ground; which is a matter of a Quarter of a yeare, or foure Moneths at the most. For they had all the Aduantages in the world; And no Man would haue thought, (considering the small Forces imployed against them,) that they could haue beene driuen out so soone. They obtained, without resistance, in the end of September, the Towne of

Kinsale ; A small Garrison of 150. *English*, leauing the Towne vpon the *Spaniards* approach, and the Townesmen receiuing the *Forrainers* as Friends. The Number of *Spaniards*, that put themselues into *Kinsale*, was 2000. Men, Souldiers of old Bands, vnder the command of *Don Iuan d' Aquila*, a Man of good valour. The Towne was strong of it selfe; Neither wanted there any Industry to fortifie it on all parts, and make it tenable, according to the Skill and Discipline of *Spanish* Fortification. At that time the *Rebels* were proud, being encouraged vpon former Successes; For though the then Deputy, the Lord Mountiory, and Sir George Carew, President of *Munster*, had performed diuers good Seruices to their preiudice; Yet the Defeat they had giuen the *English*, at *Blacke-water*, not long before; And the Treaty (too much to their honour,) with the *Earle of Essex*, was yet fresh in their memory. The Deputy lost notime, but made haste to haue reco-uered the Towne, before new Succours came, and late downe before it in October,

ber, and laid siege to it by the space of three Winter Moneths, or more: During which time, Sallies were made by the *Spaniard*, but they were beaten in with losse. In January came fresh Succours from *Spaine*, to the number of 2000. more, vnder the Conduct of *Alonzo D'Ocampo*. Vpon the Comforts of these Succours, *Tirone* and *Odonnell*, drew vp their Forces together, to the number of 7000. besides the *Spanish* Regiments, and tooke the field, resolved to rescue the Towne, and to giue the *English* battell. So here was the Case: An Army of *English*, of some 6000, wasted and tired with a long Winters Siege; Engaged in the middest, betweene an Armie of a greater Number than themselves, fresh and in vigour, on the one side; And a Towne strong in Fortification, and strong in Men, on the other. But what was the Euent? This in few words; That after the *Irish* and *Spanish* Forces had come on, and shewed themselves in some Brauery, they were content to giue the *English* the honour, as to charge them first; And when it came

to the Charge, there appeared no other difference betweene the Valour of the *Irish Rebels*, and the *Spaniards*, but that the one ranne away before they were charged, and the other straight after. And againe, the *Spaniards* that were in the towne, had so good Memories of their losses, in their former Sallies, as the Confidence of an Army, which came for their deliuerance, could not draw them forth againe. To conclude, there succeeded an absolute victory for the *English*, with the slaughter of about two thousand of the Enemy; The taking of nine Ensignes, whereof six *Spanish*; The taking of the *Spanish* Generall, *D' Ocampo*, Prisoner; And this with the losse of so few of the *English*, as is scarce credible; Being (as hath beene rather confidently, than credibly reported,) but of one Man, the Cornet of Sir *Richard Greame*; though not a few hurt. There followed immediately after the Defeat, a present yeelding vp of the Towne by Composition; And not only so, but an Auoiding (by expresse Articles of Treaty

Treaty accorded) of all other *Spanish* Forces thorowout all *Ireland*, from the Places and Nefts where they had fetled themselves, in greater strength, (as in regard of the naturall Situation of the Places,) than that was of *Kinsale* : Which were, *Castle-bauen*, *Baltimore*, and *Beere-bauen*. Indeed they went away with sound of Trumpet ; For they did nothing but publish and trumpet all the Reproaches they could devise, against the *Irish* Land, and Nation ; Insomuch as D' *Aquila* said in open Treaty; *That when the Devill, upon the Mount, did shew Christ all the Kingdomes of the Earth, and the Glory of them, hee did not doubt, but the Devill left out Ireland, and kept it for himselfe.*

I cease here, omitting not a few other Prooves of the *English* Valour and Fortune, in these later times : As at the Suburbs of *Paris*, at the *Raueline*, at *Druse* in *Normandy*, some Encounters in *Britanny*, and at *Ostend*, and diuers others ; Partly because some of them haue not beene proper Encounters between the *Spaniards* and the

the *English*; And partly because Others of them haue not beene of that greatnesse, as to haue sorted in company with the Particulars formerly recited. It is true, that amongst all the late Aduentures, the Voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, into the *West-Indies*, was vnfortunate; Yet in such sort, as it doth not breake or interrupt our Prescription; To haue had the better of the *Spaniards* vpon all fights of late. For the Disaster of that Iourney was caused chiefly by sicknesse; As might well appeare by the Deaths of both the Generals, (Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*,) of the same sicknesse amongst the rest. The Land Enterprise of *Panama*, was an ill measured and immature Counsell, For it was grounded vpon a false account, that the Passages towards *Panama* were no better fortified, than *Drake* had left them. But yet, it sorted not to any Fight of importance, but to a Retreit, after the *English* had proued the strength of their first Fort, and had notice of the two other Forts beyond, by
which

which they were to haue marched. It is true, that in the Returne of the *English* Fleet, they were set vpon by *Auellaneda*, Admirall of 20. great ships *Spanish*, our Fleet being but 14, full of sicke men, depriued of their two Generalls by Sea, and hauing no pretence but to iourney homewards : And yet the *Spaniards* did but salute them about the *Cape de los Corientes*, with some small offer of Fight, and came off with losse ; Although it was such a new thing for the *Spaniards* to receiue so little hurt, vpon dealing with the *English*, as *Auellaneda* made great bragges of it, for no greater matter, than the waiting vpon the *English* as farre off, from *Cape de los Corientes* to *Cape Antonio* ; Which, neuerthelesse, in the Language of a Souldier, and of a *Spaniard*, hee called a *Chace*.

But before I proceed further, it is good to meet with an Obiection, which if it bee not remoued, the Conclusion of *Experience*, from the time past, to the time present, will not bee sound and perfect. For it will be said, that in the for-

mer times, (whereof wee haue spoken,)
Spain was not so mighty as now it is; And
England on the other side, was more afore-
hand in all matters of Power. Therefore,
let vs compare with indifferency, these
Disparities of times, and we shall plainly
perceiue, that they make for the aduantage
of *England*, at this present time. And be-
cause we will lesse wander in Generalities,
we wil fix the Comparison to precise Times;
Comparing the State of *Spaine* and *England*
in the yeare 88. with this present yeare that
now runneth. In handling this Point, I
will not meddle with any Personall Com-
parisons, of the *Princes, Counsellors, and Com-*
manders by Sea or Land, that were then, and
that are now, in both Kingdomes, *Spaine*
and *England* ; But only rest vpon Reall
Points, for the true Ballancing of the State, of
the *Forces, and Affaires* of both Times. And
yet these Personall Comparisons I omit
not, but that I could euidently shew, that
euen in these Personall Respects, the Bal-
lance swayes on our part : But because I
would say nothing, that may saue of a
spirit

Spirit of Flattery, or Censure, of the present
Gouvernement.

First therefore, it is certaine, that *Spaine* hath not now a foot of Ground, in quiet possession, more than it had in 88. As for the *Valtoline*, and the *Palatinate*, it is a Maxim in State, that all Countries of new Acquisition, till they be settled, are rather Matters of Burthen, than of Strength. On the other side, *England* hath *Scotland* united, and *Ireland* reduced to obedience, and planted, which are mighty Augmentations.

Secondly, in 88, the *Kingdome* of *France*, able alone to counterpoize *Spaine*, it selfe, (much more in conjunction,) was torne with the Party of the League, which gaue law to their King, and depended wholly vpon *Spaine*. Now *France* is united vnder a valiant young King, generally obeyed if he will himselfe; King of *Nauarre* as well as of *France*; And that is no wayes taken Prisoner, though he be tied in a double chaine of Alliance, with *Spaine*.

Thirdly, in 88, there sate in the See of *Rome*, a fierce Thundring Frier, that would

set all at six and seven; Or at six and five, if you allude to his Name. And though hee would after haue turned his teeth vpon *Spaine*, yet he was taken order with, before it came to that. Now there is ascended to the Papacy, a Personage, that came in by a chaste Election; no wayes obliged to the Party of the *Spaniards*; A man bred in Ambassages & Affaires of State; That hath much of the Prince, and nothing of the Friar; And one, that though he loue the Chaire of the Papacy well, yet hee loueth the Carpet about the Chaire; That is, *Italy*, and the Liberties thereof, well likewise.

Fourthly, in 88, the King of *Denmarke* was a stranger to *England*, and rather inclined to *Spaine*; Now the King is incorporated to the Bloud of *England*, and Engaged in the Quarrell of the *Palatinate*. Then also *Venice*, *Sauoy*, and the Princes and Cities of *Germany*, had but a dull Feare of the Greatnesse of *Spaine*, vpon a generall Apprehension only, of the spreading and ambitious Designes of that Nation: Now that Feare is sharpened and pointed, by the *Spaniards*

late Enterprises, vpon the *Valtoline* and the *Palatinate*, which come nearer them.

Fifthly and lastly, the *Dutch* (which is the *Spaniards* perpetuall Duellist,) hath now, at this present, five Ships to one, and the like Proportion in Treasure and Wealth, to that they had in 88. Neither is it possible, (whatsoever is giue out,) that the Coffers of *Spain* should now bee fuller, than they were in 88. For at that Time *Spaine* had no other Warres saue those of the *Low-Countries*, which were growne into an Ordinary: Now they haue had coupled therewith, the Extraordinary of the *Valtoline*, and the *Palatinate*. And so I conclude my Answer to the Obiection raised, touching the Difference of times; Not entring into more secret Passages of State; But keeping that Character of Style, whercof *Seneca* speaketh; *Plus significat quàm loquitur.*

Here I would passe ouer from Matter of Experience, were it not that I held it necessary, to discouer a wonderfull Erroneous obseruation that walketh about, and is commonly receiued; contrary to all the

true Account of Time, and Experience. It is, that the *Spaniard*, where he once getteth in, will seldome (or neuer) be got out againe. But nothing is lesse true than this. Not long since they got footing at *Brest*, and some other parts in *French Brittain*, & after quitted them. They had *Calais*, *Ardes*, and *Amiens*, and rendred them, or were beaten out. They had since *Verseilles*, and faire left it. They had the other day the *Valtoline*, and now haue put it in deposite. What they will doe with *Ormuz*, which the *Persian* hath taken from them, we shall see. So that to speake truly of later Times, they haue rather poched and offered at a Number of Enterprises, than maintained any constantly, quite contrary to that idle Tradition. In more ancient times, (leauing their Purchases in *Affricke*, which they after abandoned,) when their great *Emperour Charles* had clasped *Germany*, (almost) in his fist, he was forced, in the end, to goe from *Isburg*, (and as if it had beene in a Masque, by Torch-light,) and to quit euery foot in *Germany* ground that

that he had gotten ; Which I doubt not, will be the hereditary Issue of this late Purchase of the *Palatinate*. And so I conclude the Ground, that I haue to think, that *Spain* will be no Quermatch to *Great Britaine*, if his *Maiesty* shall enter into a Warre, out of *Experience*, and the Records of Time.

For Grounds of *Reason* they are many : I will extract the principall, and open them briefly, and (as it were) in the Bud. For *Situation*, I passe it ouer; Though it be no small point: *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our good Confederates the *United Prouinces*, lie all in a plump together, not accessible but by Sea, or at least by passing of great Riuers, which are Naturall Fortifications. As for the Dominions of *Spaine*, they are so scattered, as it yeeldeth great choice of the scenes of the Warre, and promiseth slow Succours vnto such Part, as shall bee attempted. There be three maine parts of *Military Puissance*; *Men*, *Mony*, and *Confederates*. For *Men*, there are to be considered, *Valour*, and *Number*. Of *Valour* I speake
not:

not : Take it from the Witnesses that haue
beene produced before : Yet the old obser-
uation is not vnttrue ; That the *Spaniards*
Valour lieth in the Eye of the Looker on ;
But the *English Valour* lieth about the
Souldiers Heart. A *Valour* of Glory, and
a *Valour* of Naturall Courage, are two
things. But let that passe, and let vs speake
of *Number*. *Spaine* is a Nation thin sowne
of People ; Partly by reason of the Sterility
of the Soile ; And partly because their Na-
tiues are exhausted by so many Employ-
ments, in such vast Territories as they
possesse. So that it hath beene counted a
kind of Miracle, to see ten or twelue thou-
sand Natiue *Spaniards* in an Army. And
it is certaine, (as we haue touched it a little
before in passage,) that the Secret of the
Power of *Spaine*, consisteth in a *Veterane*
Army, compounded of *Miscellany Forces*
of all Nations, which for many yeares
they haue had on foot vpon one occasion
or other : And if there should happen the
Misfortune of a Battell, it would be a long
worke to draw on supplies. They tell a
Tale,

Tale, of a *Spanish Ambassadour*, that was brought to see the *Treasury of S. Marke* at *Venice*, and still he looked downe to the Ground ; And being asked, why he so looked downe, said ; *He was looking to see whether their Treasure had any Root, (so that if it were spent, it would grow againe,) as his Masters had.* But howsoever it be of their *Treasure*, certainly their *Forces* haue scarce any *Root* ; Or at least such a *Root*, as buddeth forth poorly, and slowly. It is true, they haue the *Wallons*, who are tall *Souldiers* ; But that is but a *Spot of Ground*. But, on the other side, there is not in the world againe, such a *Spring and Seminary* of braue *Militar People*, as is *England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Vnited Provinces*. So as if *Warres* should mowe them downe neuer so fast, yet they may be suddenly supplied, and come vp againe.

For *Money*, no doubt it is the principall Part of the *Greatnesse of Spaine* ; For by that they maintaine their *Veteran Army* ; And *Spaine* is the only *State of Europe*, that is a *Money grower*. But in this Part,

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of

of all others, is most to be considered, the ticklish and brittle State of the Greatnesse of *Spaine*. Their Greatnesse consisteth in their *Treasure*; Their *Treasure* in their *Indies*; And their *Indies*, (if it bee well weighed,) are indeed but an Accession to such, as are Masters by Sea. So as this Axeltree, whereupon their Greatnesse turneth, is soone cut in two, by any that shall be stronger than they by Sea. Herein therefore I refer me to the Opinions of all Men, (Enemies, or whomsoever,) whether that the Maritime Forces of *Great Britaine*, and the *United Prouinces*, bee not able to beat the *Spaniard* at Sea. For if that bee so, the Linkes of that chaine, whereby they hold their Greatnesse, are dissolued. Now if it be said, that admit the Case of *Spaine* bee such, as wee haue made it, yet wee ought to descend into our owne Case, which wee shall finde (perhaps) not to be in State, (for *Treasure*,) to enter into a Warre with *Spaine*. To which I answer; I know no such thing; The Mint beateth well; And the Pulses

Pulses of the Peoples Hearts beat well. But there is another Point that taketh away quite this Obiection : For whereas *Warres* are generally Causes of *Pouerty*, or *Consumption* ; on the contrary part, the speciall Nature of this *Warre with Spaine*, (if it be made by Sea,) is like to be a *Lucrative* and *Restorative Warre*. So that, if we goe roundly on at the first, the *Warre* in continuance will finde it selfe. And therefore you must make a great difference, betweene *Hercules Labours* by Land, and *Iasons Voyage* by Sea for the Golden Fleece.

For *Confederates*, I will not take vpon mee the knowledge, how the Princes, States, and Counsels of *Europe*, at this day, stand affected towards *Spaine* ; For that trencheth into the secret Occurrents of the present Time, wherewith in all this Treatise I haue forborne to meddle. But to speake of that which lieth open and in view : I see much Matter of Quarrell and Iealousie, but little of Amity and Trust towards *Spaine*, almost in all other Estates.

I see *France* is in competition with them, for three noble Portions of their Monarchie; *Nauarre, Naples, and Millaine*; And now freshly in difference with them about the *Valtoline*. I see once in thirty or forty yeares commeth a *Pope*, that casteth his eye vpon the Kingdome of *Naples*, to recouer it to the Church: As it was in the mindes of *Iulius 2. Paulus 4. and Zistus 5.* As for that great Body of *Germanie*; I see they haue greater reason to confederate themselues with the Kings of *France*, and *Great Britaine*, or *Denmarke*, for the libertie of the *Germaine Nation*, and for the Expulsion of *Spanish* and forraine Forces, than they had in the yeares 1552. and 1553. At which time, they contracted a League with *Henry* the second, the *French King*, vpon the same Articles, against *Charles* the fifth, who had impatronized himselfe of a great Part of *Germany*, through discord of the *German Princes*, which himselfe had sown and fomented; Which League at that time did the Deed, and draue out all the *Spaniards* out of that

part

part of *Germany*; And re-integrated that Nation in their ancient Liberty and Honour. For the *West Indies*, though *Spaine* hath had yet not much actuall disturbance there, except it haue beene from *England*; Yet neuerthelesse I see all Princes lay a kind of claime vnto them; Accounting the Title of *Spaine*, but as a Monopolie of those large Countries, wherein they haue, in great part, but an Imaginary Possession. For *Africk* vpon the *West*, the Moores of *Valentia* expelled, and their Allies, doe yet hang as a Cloud or Storme ouer *Spaine*. *Gabor* on the East, is like an Anniuersary Wind, that riseth euery yeare once vpon the Party of *Austria*. And *Persia* hath entred into Hostility with *Spaine*, and giuen them the first blow by taking of *Ormuz*. It is within euery mans Obseruation also, that *Venice* doth thinke their State almost on fire, if the *Spaniards* hold the *Valtoline*. That *Sauoy* hath learned by fresh experience; That Alliance with *Spaine* is no Security against the Ambition of *Spaine*; And that of *Ba- uaria* hath likewise beene taught, that Me-

rit and Seruice doth oblige the Spaniard but from day to day. Neither doe I say, for all this, but that *Spaine* may rectifie much of this ill Bloud, by their particular and cunning Negotiations: But yet there it is in the Body, and may breake out, no man knoweth when, into ill Accidents: But at least it sheweth plainly that which serueth for our purpose; That *Spain* is much destitute of Assured and Confident Confederates. And therefore I will concludethis Part, with the Speech of a Counsellour of State, in *Spaine*, at this day, which was not without Salt. He said to his Master, the King of *Spaine*, that now is, vpon occasion: Sir, I will tell your Maiesty thus much for your comfort; Your Maiesty hath but two Enemies; Whereof the one is, all the World; And the other is, your owne Ministers. And thus I end the Second Maine Part, I propounded to speake of; which was, The Ballancing of the Forces, betweene the Kings Maiestie, and the King of *Spaine*, if a Warre must follow.

FINIS.

AN
ADVERTISEMENT
TOUCHING
AN
Holy Warre.

Written in the yeare 1622.

Whereunto the Author prefixed an
Epistle to the Bishop of *Winchester*
last deceased.



LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Haviland
for Humphrey Robinson. 1629.

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THE VII. PART

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TO
THE RIGHT
REVEREND FATHER
in God, LANCELOT
ANDREWES, Lord Bishop of *Win-*
chester, and Counsellour of Estate
to his MAIESTIE.

My Lord,



Mongst Consolations,
it is not the least, to
represent to a Mans
selfe, like Examples
of Calamitie in o-
thers. For Examples give a quicker
Impression, than Arguments; And
M besides

besides they certifie vs that, which the Scripture also tendreth for satisfaction; That no new Thing is happened vnto vs. This they doe the better, by how much the Examples, are liker in circumstances, to our owne Case; And more especially, if they fall vpon Persons, that are greater, and worthier, than our selues. For as it sauoureth of Vanity, to match our selues highly, in our owne conceit; So on the other side, it is a good sound Conclusion, that if our Betters haue sustained the like Euent; wee haue the lesse cause to be grieved.

In this kinde of Consolation, I haue not beene wanting to my Selfe; Though as a Christian, I haue tasted (through Gods great goodnesse,) of higher Remedies. Hauing therefore,
through

through the Varietie of my Reading, set before me, many Examples, both of Ancient and Later Times, my Thoughts (I confesse) haue chiefly stayed upon three Particulars, as the most Eminent, and the most Resembling. All three Persons, that had held chiefe place of Authority in their Countries; All three ruined, not by Warre, or by any other Disaster, but by Justice, and Sentence, as Delinquents, and Criminalls; All three famous Writers, insomuch as the remembrance of their Calamity, is now as to Posterity, but as a little Picture of Night-worke, remaining amongst the faire, and excellent Tables, of their Acts, and Works. And all three (if that were any thing to the matter,) fit Examples to quench

any Mans Ambition of Rising againe ; For that they were euery one of them restored with great glory, but to their further Ruine and Destruction, ending in a violent Death. The Men were, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca; Persons, that I durst not claime Affinity with, except the Similitude of our Fortunes had contracted it. When I had cast mine Eyes vpon these Examples, I was carried on further to obserue, how they did beare their Fortunes, and principally, how they did employ their Times, being banished, and disabled for Publike Businesse ; To the end, that I might learne by them; And that they might be, as well my Counsellours, as my Comforters. Whereupon I happened to note, how diuersly, their Fortunes

tunes wrought upon them, especially in that point, at which I did most aime, which was the employing of their Times, and Pens. In Cicero, I saw, that during his Banishment, (which was almost two yeares,) he was so softened, and dejected, as he wrote nothing, but a few Womanish Epistles. And yet, in mine opinion, he had least reason of the Three, to be discouraged: For that although it was iudged, and iudged by the highest kinde of Iudgement, in forme of a Statute, or Law, that he should be banished; And his whole Estate confiscated, and seized; And his houses pulled downe; And that it should be highly penall, for any Man, to propound his Repeale; Yet his Case, even then, had no great Blot of Ignominy, but it was thought,

but a Tempest of Popularitie, which ouerthrew him. Demosthenes contrariwise, though his Case was foule, being condemned for Bribery; And not simple Bribery, but Bribery in the Nature of Treason, and Disloyalty; yet neuerthelesse tooke so little knowledge of his Fortune, as during his Banishment, hee did much busie himselfe, and entermeddle with matters of State; And tooke vpon him to Counsell the State, (as if he had beene still at the Helme,) by letters; As appears by some Epistles of his, which are extant. Seneca indeed, who was condemned, for many Corruptions, and Crimes, and banished into a solitary Island, kept a Meane; And though his penne did not treese, yet he abstained from intruding into Mat-
ters

ters of Businesse ; But spent his time, in writing Books, of excellent Argument, and Use, for all Ages; Though he might haue made better Choyce, (sometimes) of his Dedications.

These Examples confirmed mee much in a Resolution, (whereunto I was otherwise inclined,) to spend my Time wholly in Writing; And to put forth that poore Talent, or halfe Talent, or what it is, that God hath giuen me, not as heretofore to particular Exchanges, but to Banks, or Mounts of Perpetuity, which will not breake. Therefore hauing not long since, set forth a part of my Instauration ; Which is the Worke, that in mine owne iudgement, (Si nunquam fallit Imago,) I doe most esteeme ; I thinke to proceed in some
new

new parts thereof. And although I haue receiued from many Parts beyond the Seas, Testimonies touching that Worke, such as beyond which I could not expect at the first, in so abstruse an Argument; yet neuertheless I haue iust cause to doubt, that it flies too high ouer Mens Heads: I haue a purpose therefore, (though I breake the order of Time,) to draw it downe to the sense, by some Patternes of a Naturall Story, and Inquisition. And againe, for that my Booke of Aduancement of Learning, may be some Preparatiue, or Key, for the better opening of the Instauration; Because it exhibit's a Mixture, of new Conceits, and old; whereas the Instauration, giues the new unmixed, otherwise than with some little

little *Assperſion* of the old, for taſter ſake; I haue thought good to procure a *Translation* of that Booke, into the Generall Language, not without great and ample *Additions*, and *Enrichment* thereof; Eſpecially in the Second Booke, which handleth the *Partition* of Sciences: In ſuch ſort, as I hold it may ſerue, in lieu of the *Fiſt Part*, of the *Inſtauration*, and acquit my promiſe in that part. Again, becauſe I cannot altogether deſert, the *Ciuill Perſon*, that I haue borne; Which if I ſhould forget, Enough would remember; I haue alſo entred into a worke touching *Lawes*, Propounding a *Character* of *Iuſtice*, in a middle terme, betweene the *Speculatiue*, and *Reuerend diſcourſes* of *Philoſophers*, and the *Writings* of
N Lawyers,

Lawyers, which are tied, and obnoxious to their particular Lawes. And although it be true, that I had a purpose, to make a particular Digest, or Recompilement, of the Lawes, of mine owne Nation ; Yet because it is a Worke of Assistance , and that, that I cannot master by mine owne Forces, and Penne, I haue laid it aside. Now hauing in the Worke of my Instauration, had in contemplation, the generall Good of Men, in their very Being, and the Dowries of Nature ; And in my Worke of Lawes, the generall good of Men likewise, in Society, and the Dowries of Government ; I thought in duty I owed somewhat vnto mine owne Country, which I euer loued, Inso-much as although my Place, hath
beene

bee ne farre aboue my desert, yet my Thoughts, and Cares concerning the Good thereof, were beyond, and ouer, and aboue my place: So now being (as I am) no more able to doe my Countrey Seruice, it remained vnto me, to doe it Honour: Which I haue endeououred to doe, in my VVorke, of the Raigne, of King HENRY the Seuenth. As for my Essayes, and some other Particulars of that nature, I count them, but as the Recreations of my other Studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them; Though I am not ignorant, that those kind of VVritings, would, with lesse paines, and embracement, (perhaps,) yeeld more Lustre, and Reputation to my Name, than those other, which I haue in hand. But I

account the Use, that a Man should seeke, of the publishing of his owne Writings before his Death, to be but an vntimely Anticipation of that, which is proper to follow a Man, and not to goe along with him.

But resoluing with my selfe, my Writings, as well those which I haue published, as those, which I had in hand, me thought they went all into the City, and none into the Temple; Where because I haue found, so great Consolation, I desire likewise to make some poore Oblation. Therefore I haue chosen an Argument, mixt of Religious and Ciuill Considerations; And likewise mixt between Contemplatiue, and Actiue. For who can tell, whether there may not be an Exoriere aliquis? Great
 - 30 s M Matters

Matters (especially if they be Religious) haue (many times) small beginnings ; And the Platforme, may draw on the Building. I bis Worke, because I was euer an Enemy to flattering Dedications, I haue dedicated to your Lordship ; In respect of our ancient, and priuate Acquaintance ; And because amongst the Men of our Times, I hold you in especiall Reuerence.

Your Lordships
louing Friend

Fr. S^t. ALBAN.

My dear Mr. [illegible]
I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am
glad to hear that you are well. I am
at present in the city of [illegible] and
am very busy with my work. I
will write to you again soon.
Yours truly,
[illegible]

Your truly
[illegible]

AN
ADVERTISEMENT
TOVCHING
AN
HOLY WARRE.

The Persons that speake.

EVSEBIVS. GAMALIEL. ZEBEDAEVS.
MARTIVS. EUPOLIS.
POLLIO.



Here met at Paris, (in the house of Eupolis,) Eusebius, Zebedæus, Gamaliel, Martius; All Persons of eminent Qualitie, but of severall Dispositions. Eupolis himselfe was also present: And while they were set in conference, Pollio came in to them from Court; And as soone as he saw them, after his witty and pleasant manner, he said.

Characters of the Persons. Eusebius beareth the Character of a Moderate Divine. Gamaliel of a Protestant Zealant. Zebedæus of a Romish Catholike Zealant. Martius of a Militar Man. Eupolis of a Politique. Pollio of a Courtier.

POLLIO.

said. POLLIO. Here be Foure of you, I thinke, were able to make a good *World*; For you are as differing as the Foure *Elements*, and yet you are Friends. As for *Eupolis*, because he is Temperate, and without Passion, hee may bee the *Fifth Essence*. EVPOLIS. If we five (*Pollio*,) make the *Great World*, you alone may make the *Little*; Because you professe and practise both, to referre all Things to your Selfe. POLLIO. And what doe they that practise it, and professe it not? EVPOLIS. They are the lesse Hardy, and the more Dangerous. But come, and sit downe with vs, for we were speaking of the *Affaires* of *Christendome*, at this day: Wherein we would be glad also, to haue your Opinion. POLLIO. My Lords, I haue iourneyed this Morning, and it is now the Heat of the Day; Therefore your Lordships Discourses, had need content my Eares very well, to makethem entreat mine Eyes to keepe open. But yet if you will giue mee leaue to awake you, when I thinke your Discourses doe but sleepe, I will keepe watch

watch the best I can. *EVPOLIS.* You cannot doe vs a greater Favour. Onely I feare, you will thinke all our Discourses, to be but the better sort of Dreames : For good wishes, without power to effect, are not much more. But Sir, when you came in, *Martius* had both raised our Attentions, and affected vs with some Speech he had begunne ; And it falleth out well, to shake off your Drowsinesse, for it seemed to be the *Trumpet* of a *Warre*. And therefore, (*Martius*,) if it please you, to begin againe ; For the Speech was such, as deserueth to be heard twice ; And I assure you, your Auditory is not a little amended, by the presence of *Pollio*. *MARTIVS.* When you came in, (*Pollio*,) I was saying freely to these Lords, that I had obserued, how by the space now, of halfe a *Century* of yeares, there had beene (if I may speak it,) a Kind of Meannesse, in the Designes, & Enterprises of *Christendome*. Warres with *Subiects* ; Like an angry Sute for a Mans Owne, that mought be better ended by Accord. Some petty Acquests of a Towne, or a Spot of Territory ;

Like a Farmers Purchase of a Close, or Nooke of Ground, that lay fit for him. And although the *Warres* had beene, for a *Naples*, or a *Millaine*, or a *Portugall*, or a *Bohemia*, yet these *Warres* were but as the *Warres* of Heathen, (Of *Athens*, or *Sparta*, or *Rome*,) for Secular Interest, or Ambition, not worthy the *Warfare* of *Christians*. The *Church* (indeed) maketh her Missions, into the Extreme Parts, of the *Nations*, and *Isles*; And it is well: But this is, *Ecce Vnus Gladius hic*. The *Christian Princes*, and *Potentates* are they, that are wanting, to the Propagation of the *Faith*, by their *Armes*. Yet our *Lord*, that said on Earth, to the *Disciples*, *Ite & predicate*; Said from Heauen, to *Constantine*, *In hoc signo Vince*. What *Christian Souldier* is there, that will not be touched, with a Religious Emulation, to see an *Order* of *Iesus*, or of *Saint Francis*, or of *Saint Augustine*, doe such seruice, for enlarging the *Christian Borders*; And an *Order* of *Saint Iago*, or *Saint Michael*, or *Saint George*, only to Roab, and Feast, and performe Rites, and Obseruances?

uances? Surely the *Merchants* themselves, shall rise in iudgement against the *Princes*, and *Nobles* of *Europe*: For they haue made a great Path, in the Seas, vnto the Ends of the World; And set forth Ships, and Forces, of *Spanisb*, *Englisb*, and *Dutch*, enough to make *Cbina* tremble; And all this, for *Pearle*, or *Stone*, or *Spices*: But for the *Pearle* of the *Kingdome* of *Heauen*, Or the *Stones* of the *Heauenly Hierusalem*, Or the *Spices* of the *Spouses Garden*, not a *Mast* hath beene set vp. Nay they can make shift, to shed *Christian* Bloud, so farre off amongst themselves, and not a Drop for the Cause of *Christ*. But let me recall my selfe; I must acknowledge, that within the space of fifty yeares, (whereof I spake,) there haue beene three Noble, and Memorable *Actions*, vpon the *Infidels*, wherein the *Christian* hath beene the *Inuader*. For where it is, vpon the *Defensiue*, I reckon it, a *Warre* of Nature, and not of *Piety*. The First was, that Famous, and Fortunate *Warre* by *Sea*, that ended in the Victory of *Lepanto*; Which hath put a Hooke, into the Nosthrills of

the *Ottomans*, to this day : Which was the Worke (chiefly) of that excellent *Pope, Pius Quintus* ; whom I wonder his Successours haue not declared a *Saint*. The Second was, the Noble, though Vnfortunate, *Expedition*, of *Sebastian King of Portugall*, vpon *Africke*, which was atchieued by him alone; So alone, as left somewhat for others to Excuse. The last was, the Braue *Incurfions*, of *Sigismund the Transiluanian Prince*; The Thred of whose Prosperity was cut off, by the *Christians* themselues ; Contrary to the Worthy, and Paternall Monitories, of *Pope Clement the Eight*. More than these, I doe not remember. P O L. No ! what say you, to the *Extirpation*, of the *Moores*, of *Valentia*? At which sudden *Question*, *Martius* was a little at a stop, and *Gamaliel* preuented him, and said. *GAMALIEL*. I thinke *Martius* did well in omitting that *Action*, for I, for my part, neuer approued it ; And it seemes, *God* was not well pleased with that Deed ; For you see the *King*, in whose time it passed, (whom you *Catholikes* count a *Saint-like*, and *Immaculate Prince*,)

Prince,) was taken away, in the Flower of his Age : And the *Author*, and great *Counsellour* of that Rigour, (whose Fortunes seemed to be built upon the rocke,) is ruined : And it is thought by some, that the Reckonings of that Businesse, are not yet clear'd with *Spaine* ; For that Numbers, of those supposed *Moores*, being tried now by their Exile, continue constant in the Faith, and true *Christians* in all points, save in the Thirst of *Revenge*. ZEBED. Make not hasty Iudgement, (*Ganahel*,) of that great action ; Which was as *Christs Fanne*, in those Countreies ; Except you could shew, some such Covenant, from the *Crown of Spain*, as *Iosuah* made with the *Gibeonites* ; That that *Cursed Seed* should continue in the Land. And you see, it was done by *Edict*, not tumultuously ; The Sword was not put into the *Peoples Hand*. EYPOLE. I thinke, *Martius* did omit it, not as making any Iudgement of it, either way ; But because it sorted not aptly, with Actions of *Warre*, being upon Subjects, and without resistance. But let vs, if you thinke good,

giue *Martius* leaue, to proceed in his Discourse; For me thought he spake, like a *Divine* in *Armour*. MARTIVS. It is true, (*Eupolis*,) that the Principall Obiect, which I haue before mine Eyes, in that whereof I speake, is Piety, and Religion. But neuertheless, if I should speake only as a Naturall Man, I should perswade the same thing. For there is no such Enterprise, at this day, for secular Greatnesse, and terrene Honour, as a *Warre* vpon *Infidels*. Neither doe I, in this, propound a Nouelty, or Imagination, but that, which is proued by late Examples, of the same kinde, though perhaps of lesse difficulty. The *Castilians*, the age before that wherein we liue, opened the *New World*; And subdued, and planted *Mexico*, *Peru*, *Chile*, and other Parts of the *West Indies*. We see what Flouds of Treasure, haue flowed into *Europe*, by that Action; So that the Cense, or Rates of *Christendome*, are raised since ten times, yea twenty times told. Of this Treasure, it is true, the *Gold* was Accumulate, and Store Treasure, for the most part; But the *Sil-*

uer is still growing. Besides, infinite is the
 Accessse, of Territory, and Empire, by the
 same Enterprise. For there was, neuer an
Hand drawen, that did double the *Rest*,
 of the *Habitable World*, before this ; For so
 a Man may truly terme it, if he shall put to
 account, as well that that is, as that which
 may be hereafter, by the further Occupa-
 tion, and Colonizing, of those Countries.
 And yet it cannot be affirmed, (if one
 speake ingenuously,) that it was the *Pro-
 pagation*, of the *Christian Faith*, that was the
 Adamant of that Discouery, Entry, and
 Plantation ; But Gold, and Siluer, and
 Temporall Profit, and Glory : So that,
 what was first in *Gods* Prouidence, was
 but second in Mans Appetite, and Inten-
 tion. The like may be said, of the famous
 Nauigations, and Conquests, of *Emanuel*,
King of Portugall, whole Armes beganne
 to circle *Africke*, and *Asia* ; and to acquire,
 not onely the Trade of Spices, and Stones,
 and Muske, and Drugges, but Footing,
 and places, in those extreme Parts of the
East. For neither in this, was *Religion* the
 Principall,

Principall, but Amplification, and Enlargement, of Riches, and Dominion. And the Effect, of these two Enterprises, is now such, that both the *East*, and the *West Indies*, being met in the *Crowne of Spaine*, it is come to passe, that as one saith in a braue kinde of Expression ; *The Sunne neuer sets in the Spanish Dominions, but euer shines, vpon one part, or other of them* : Which, to say truly, is a beame of Glory, though I cannot say, it is so Solide a Body of Glory, wherein the *Crowne of Spaine*, surpasseth all the former *Monarchies*. So as to conclude, we may see, that in these Actions vpon *Gentiles*, or *Infidels*, onely or chiefly, both the Spirituall, and Temporall, Honour, and Good, haue beene, in one pursuit, and purchase, conioyned. P O L. Me thinks, with your fauour, you should remember, (*Martius*,) that Wilde, and Sauage People, are like Beasts, and Birds, which are *Fera Nature*, the Property of which passeth with the Possession, and goeth to the Occupant; But of Ciuill People, it is not so. MAR. I know no such difference, amongst Reasonable

sonable soules ; But that whatsoeuer is in order, to the greatest, and most generall Good of people, may iustifie the Action, be the people more, or lesse, Ciuill. But, (*Eupolis,*) I shall not easily grant, that the People of *Peru*, or *Mexico*, were such brute Sauages, as you intend ; Or that there should be, any such Difference betweene them, and many of the Infidels, which are now in other parts. In *Peru*, though they were vnapparrelled People, according to the Clime ; And had some Customes very Barbarous ; Yet the *Gouernment* of the *Incae's*, had many Parts of Humanity, and Ciuility. They had reduced the *Nations*, from the *Adoration* of a Multitude of *Idols*, and *Fancies*, to the *Adoration* of the *Sunne*. And, as I remember, the *Booke* of *Wisdom* noteth Degrees of *Idolatry* ; Making that of *Worshipping* Petty, and Vile *Idols*, more grosse, than simply the *Worshipping* of the *Creature*. And some of the *Prophets*, as I take it, doe the like, in the Metaphore, of more vgly, and Bestiall *Fornication*. The *Peruuians* also, (vnder the *Incaes,*) had

magnificent Temples of their Superstition ; They had Strict and Regular Iustice ; They bare great Faith, and Obedience to their *Kings* ; They proceeded in a kinde of Marshall Iustice with their Enemies, offering them their Law, as better for their owne Good, before they drew their Sword. And much like, was the State of *Mexico*, being an *Electiue Monarchie*. As for those People of the East, (*Goa, Calecute, Malaca,*) they were a Fine, and Dainty People ; Frugall, and yet Elegant, though not Militar. So that if Things be rightly weighed, the *Empire* of the *Turks*, may be truly affirmed, to be more Barbarous, than any of these. A cruel Tyranny, bathed in the Bloud of their Emperours, vpon euery Succession : A Heap of Vassals, and Slaues : No Nobles, No Gentlemen : No Free-men, No Inheritance of Land, No Stirp or Ancient Families : A People that is without *Naturall Affection*, and, as the *Scripture* saith, that *Regardeth not the desires of Women* : And without Piety, or Care towards their Children : A Nation with-

without Morality, without Letters, Arts, or Sciences ; That can scarce measure an Acre of Land, or an Houre of the Day : Base and Sluttish in Buildings, Diets, and the like : And in a word, A very Reproach of Humane Societie : And yet this Nation, hath made the Garden of the World, a Wilderness ; For that, as it is truly said, concerning the *Turks* ; *Where Ottomans Horse sets his foot, people will come vp very thin.* POLLIO. Yet in the midst of your Inuectiue, (*Martius*,) doe the *Turks* this right, as to remember, that they are no Idolaters : For if, as you say, there be a Difference, betweene Worshipping a Base Idoll, and the Sunne ; There is a much greater Difference, betweene worshipping a Creature, and the Creator. For the *Turks* doe acknowledge God the Father, Creator of Heauen, and Earth, being the first Person in the Trinity, though they deny the rest. At which Speech, when *Martius* made some pause, *Zebedæus* replied with a Countenance of great Reprehension, and Seueritie. ZEBED. Wee must take heed, (*Pollio*,) that wee fall not

at vna waies, into the Heresie of *Manuel Comnenus*, Emperour of *Grecia*; Who affirmed, that *Mahomets God*, was the true *God*; Which Opinion was not only reiect-
 ed, and condemned by the *Synode*, but imputed to the Emperour, as extreme Mad-
 nesse; Being reproached to him also, by the *Bishop of Theffalonica*, in those bitter, and
 strange Words, as are not to be named.

MARTYRS. I confesse, that it is my Opi-
 nion, that a *Warre* vpon the *Türke*, is more
 worthy, than vpon any other Gentiles, In-
 fidels, or Sauages, that either haue beene,
 or now are, both in point of *Religion*, and
 in point of *Honour*; Though Facilitie,
 and Hope of Success, mought (perhaps)
 inuite some other Choyce. But before I
 proceed, both my Selfe would be glad to
 take some Breath; And I shall frankly de-
 sire, that some of your Lordships would
 take your turne to speake, that can doe it
 better. But chiefly, for that I see here some,
 that are excellent Interpreters of the *Diuine*
Law, though in severall wayes; And that
 I haue reason to distrust mine own Iudge-
 ment,

ment, both as weake in it selfe, and as that, which may be ouerborne, by my Zeale, and Affection to this Cause. I thinke it were an Errour to speake further, till I may see some sound Foundation laid, of the *Lawfulnessse* of the *Action*, by them that are better versed in that Argument. EUPOLIS. I am glad, (*Martius*,) to see in a Person of your Profession, so great Moderation, in that you are not transported in an Action, that warms the Bloud, and is appearing Holy, to blaynch, or take for admitted, the Point of *Lawfulnessse*. And because mee thinkes this Conference prospers, if your Lordships will giue me leaue, I will make some motion, touching the Distribution of it into Parts. *Vnto which, when they all assented; Eupolis said.* EUPOLIS, I thinke, it would not sort amisse, if *Zebedeus* would be pleased, to handle the Question; Whether a *Warre*, for the *Propagation* of the *Christian Faith*, without other cause of Hostilitie, be lawfull, or no, and in what cases? I confesse also, I would be glad to goe a little further; And to heare it

spoken to, concerning the *Lawfulnessse*, not only permissiue, but whether it be not Obligatory, to *Christian Princes*, and *States*, to designe it: Which Part, if it please *Gamaliel* to vndertake, the point of the *Lawfulnessse*, taken simply, will be Compleat. Yet there resteth the *Comparatiue*: That is, it being granted, that it is either *Lawfull*, or *Binding*, yet whether other Things be not to be preferr'd before it; As *Extirpation of Heresies*; *Reconcilements of Schismes*; *Pursuit of Lawfull Temporall Rights*, and *Quarrels*; And the Like: And how farre this *Enterprise*, ought either to wait vpon these other Matters; Or to be mingled with them; Or to passe by them, and giue Law to them, as inferiour vnto it selfe? And because this is a great Part, and *Eusebius* hath yet said nothing, wee will, by way of Mulct, or Paine, if your Lordships thinke good, lay it vpon him. All this while, I doubt much, that *Pollio*, who hath a sharpe Wit of Discovery, towards what is Solide and Reall, and what is Specious and Aicry, will esteeme all this but

Impossibilities,

Impossibilities, and Eagles in the Clouds :
 And therefore wee shall all intreat him, to
 crush this *Argument*, with his best Forces ;
 That by the Light, we shall take from him,
 wee may either cast it away, if it be found
 but a Bladder ; Or discharge it, of so much
 as is vaine, and not sperable. And because,
 I confesse, I my selfe am not of that Opi-
 nion, although it be an hard Encounter
 to deale with *Pollio*, yet I shall doe my best,
 to proue the *Enterprise Possible* ; And to
 shew, how all *Impediments*, may bee either
 remoued, or ouercomen. And then it will
 be fit for *Martius*, (if wee doe not desert it
 before,) to resume his further Discourse,
 as well for the *Perswasue*, as for the *Con-*
sult, touching the *Meanes*, *Preparations*,
 and all that may conduce vnto the *Enter-*
prise. But this is but my Wish, your Lord-
 ships will put it into better order. *They all*
not only allowed the Distribution, but accep-
ted the Parts : But because the Day was spent,
they agreed, to deferre it, till the next Mor-
ning. Only Pollio said. POLLIO. You
take mee right, (Eupolis ;) For I am of
 opinion,

opinion, that except you could bray *Christendome* in a Mortar, and mould it into a New Paste, there is no *Possibilitie* of an *Holy Warre*. And I was euer of opinion, that the *Philosophers Stone*, and an *Holy Warre*, were but the *Rendez-vous* of Crackt Braines, that wore their Feather in their Head, in stead of their Hat. Neuerthelesse, belecue mee of Courtesie, that if you *Fiue* shall be of another minde, especially after you haue heard, what I can say, I shall be ready to certifie with *Hippocrates*, that *Athens* is mad, and *Democritus* is only sober. And lest you should take mee for altogether Aduerse, I will frankly contribute to the Businesse, now at first. Yee, no doubt, will amongst you deuise and discourse many solemne Matters: But doe as I shall tell you. This *Pope* is Decrepit, and the Bell goeth for him. Take order, that when he is Dead, there be chosen a *Pope* of fresh yeeres, betweene fifty and threelcore; And see that he take the Name of *Vrban*, because a *Pope* of that Name did first institute the *Cruzada*; And, (as with
an

an holy Trumper,) did stirre vp the *Voyage*, for the *Holy Land*. *EUPOLIS*. You say well; But be, I pray you, a little more serious, in this Conference.

The next day, the same Persons met, as they had appointed; And after they were set, and that there had passed some sporting speeches from Pollio, how the Warre was already begun; For that, (he said) he had dream't of nothing but Ianizaries, and Tartars, and Sultans all the night long, Martius said. *MARTIVS*. The *Distribution* of this Conference, which was made by *Eupolis* yesternight, and was by vs approued, seemeth to me perfect, saue in one Point; and that is, not in the *Number*, but in the *Placing* of the *Parts*. For it is so disposed, that *Pollio* and *Eupolis*, shall debate the *Possibility*, or *Impossibility* of the *Action*, before I shall deduce, the *Particulars* of the *Meanes*, and *Manner*, by which it is to be atchieued. Now I haue often obserued in *Deliberations*, that the *Entring* neare hand, into the *Manner* of *Performance*, and *Execution* of that, which is vnder *Deliberation*, hath

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quite

quite ouerturn'd the Opinion formerly conceiu'd, of the *Possibilitie*, or *Impossibility*. So that Things, that at the First shew, seemed *Possible*, by Ripping vp the Performance of them, haue beene conuicted of *Impossibility*; and Things, that, on the other side, haue shewed *Impossible*, by the Declaration of the Meanes, to effect them, as by a Backe Light, haue appeared *Possible*, the way thorow them being discerned. This I speake, not to alter the *Order*, but onely to desire *Pollio*, and *Eupolis*, not to speake peremptorily, or conclusiuely, touching the Point of *Possibility*, till they haue heard me deduce the *Meanes*, of the Execution: And that done, to reserue themselves at liberty, for a Reply, after they had before them, as it were, a Modell of the *Enterprise*. This graue, and solid Aduertisement, and Caution of *Martius*, was much commended by them all; Whereupon *Eupolis* said. *EUPOLIS*. Since *Martius* hath begunne to refine that, which was yesternight resolved; I may the better haue leaue, (especially in the mending of a Proposition,

tion, which was mine owne,) to remember an Omission, which is more than a Misplacing. For I doubt, we ought to haue added, or inserted into the point of *Lawfulnessse*, the Question ; How farre an *Holy Warre* is to be pursued, whether to Displanting, and Extermination of *People*? And againe, whether to enforce a new Beleeft, and to vindicate, or punish Infidelity ; Or onely to subiect, the Countries and People ; And so, by the Temporall Sword, to open a Doore, for the Spirituall Sword to enter, by Perswasion, Instruction, and such Meanes, as are proper for Soules, and Consciences ? But it may be, neither is this necessary, to be made a Part by it selfe ; For that *Zebedæus*, in his wisdom, will fall into it, as an incident, to the Point of *Lawfulnessse*, which cannot bee handled, without Limitations, and Distinctions.

ZEBEDÆVS. You encourage me, (*Eupolis*,) in that I perceiue, how in your Iudgement, (which I doe so much esteeme,) I ought to take that Course, which of my selfe, I was purposed to doe. For as *Martius*

noted well, that it is but a loose Thing, to speake of *Possibilities*, without the Particular *Designes* ; So is it, to speake of *Lawfulnessse*, without the Particular *Cases*. I will therefore, first of all, distinguish the *Cases* ; Though you shall giue mee leaue in the handling of them, not to seuer them, with too much *Precisenesse* ; For both it would cause needlesse Length ; And we are not now in *Arts*, or *Methods* , but in a *Conference*. It is therefore, first to be put to Question in generall, (as *Eupolis* propounded it,) whether it bee *lawfull* for Christian Princes, or States, to make an *Inuasiue Warre*, onely and simply, for the *Propagation* of the *Faith*, without other Cause of Hostility, or Circumstance, that may prouoke, and induce the *Warre* ? Secondly, whether, it being made part of the Case, that the Countries were once *Christian*, and Members of the *Church*, and where the *Golden Candlesticks* did stand, though now they be vitterly alienated, and no *Christians* left ; it be not *lawfull* to make a *Warre*, to restore them to the *Church*, as

an ancient Patrimony of *Christ*? Thirdly, if it be made a further part of the Case, that there are yet remaining in the Countries, Multitudes of *Christians*, whether it be not lawfull to make a *Warre*, to free them, and deliuer them, from the seruitude of the *Infidels*? Fourthly, whether it bee not Lawfull to make a *Warre*, for the Purging, and Recouery of Consecrate Places, being now polluted, and Prophaned; As the *Holy City*, and *Sepulcher*, and such other places, of principall Adoration, and Deuotion? Fifthly, whether it be not Lawfull, to make a *Warre*, for the Reuenge, or Vindication of Blasphemies, and Reproaches, against the *Deity*, and our *Blessed Saviour*; Or for the Effusion of *Christian Bloud*, and Cruelties against *Christians*, though ancient, and long since past; Considering that *Gods Visits*, are without limitation of Time; And many times, doe but expect the Fulnesse of the Sinne? Sixtly, it is to be considered, (as *Eupolis* now last wel remembered,) whether a *Holy Warre*, (which, as in the Worthinesse of the Quarrell, so in the

Iustnesse of the Prosecution, ought to exceed all Temporall *Warres*,) may be pursued, either to the Expulsion of People, or the Enforcement of Consciences, or the like Extremities ; Or how to be moderated, and limited ; Lest whilest we remember we are *Christians*, we forget that others are Men ? But there is a *Point*, that prece-deth all these Points recited ; Nay, and in a manner dischargeth them, in the Particular of a *Warre* against the *Turke* : which *Point*, I thinke, would not haue come into my thought, but that *Martius* giuing vs yesterday, a Representation of the *Empire* of the *Turks*, with no small vigour of words, (which you (*Pollio*) called an Inuectiue, but was indeed a true Charge,) did put me in minde of it : And the more I thinke vpon it, the more I settle in Opinion ; That a *Warre*, to suppress that *Empire*, though we set aside the Cause of Religion, were a iust *Warre*. After *Zebedæus* had said this, he made a Pause, to see whether any of the rest would say any thing : But when he perceiued nothing, but Silence, and Signes of At-tention,

tion, to that he would further say, hee proceeded thus.

ZEBEDAEVS. Your Lordships will not looke for a *Treatise* from me, but a *Speech of Consultation* ; And in that Brevity, and Manner, will I speake. First, I shall agree, that as the *Cause* of a *Warre*, ought to be Iust ; So the *Iustice* of that *Cause* ought to be Eident ; Not Obscure, not Scrupulous. For by the Consent, of all Lawes, in Capitall Causes, the Euidence must be full and cleare : And if so, where one Mans life is in Question, what say we to a *Warre*, which is euer the Sentence of Death vpon many ? We must beware therefore, how we make a *Moloch*, or an *Heathen Idoll*, of our *Blessed Sauiour*, in sacrificing the Bloud of Men to him, by an vniust *Warre*. The *Iustice* of euery *Action*, consisteth in the *Merits* of the *Cause*, the *Warrant* of the *Iurisdiction*, and the *Forme* of the *Prosecution*. As for the *Inward Intention*, I leaue it, to the *Court of Heauen*. Of these Things seuerally, as they may haue Relation, to the present Subiect of a *Warre* against *Infidels* ; And
namely,

namely, against the most Potent, and most Dangerous Enemy of the *Faith*, the *Turke*. I hold, and I doubt not, but I shall make it plaine, (as farre as a Summe, or Breefe can make a Cause plaine,) that a *Warre* against the *Turke*, is *Lawfull*, both by the *Lawes* of *Nature*, and *Nations*; And by the *Law Diuine*, which is the Perfection of the other two. As for the *Lawes Positiue*, and *Ciuilt* of the *Romans*, or other whatsoeuer, they are too small Engins, to moue the Weight of this Question. And therefore, in my iudgement, many of the late *Schoolemen*, (though excellent Men,) take not the right way in disputing this Question; Except they had the gift of *Nauius*, that they could *Cotem nouacula scindere*; *Hew Stones with Pen-kniues*. First, for the *Law of Nature*. The Philosopher *Aristotle* is no ill Interpreter thereof. He hath set many Men on worke, with a witty speech of *Naturâ Dominus*, and *Naturâ Seruus*; Affirming expressely, and positiuely; *That from the very Natiuity, some Things are borne to Rule, and some things to Obey*. Which Oracle hath

hath beene taken in diuers senses. Some haue taken it, for a Speech of Ostentation, to entitle the *Grecians*, to an *Empire* ouer the *Barbarians*; Which indeed was better maintained by his Scholler *Alexander*. Some haue taken it, for a Speculative Platforme, that Reason and Nature would, that the Best should gouerne; But not in any wise to create a Right. But, for my part, I take it, neither for a Bragge, nor for a wish; But for a Truth, as he limiteth it. For he saith, That if there can be found, such an Inequality betweene Man and Man, as there is betweene Man and Beast, or betweene Soule and Body, it inuesteth a Right of Government; Which seemeth rather an Impossible Case, than an vntrue Sentence. But I hold both the *Iudgement* true, and the *Case* possible; And such as hath had, and hath a Being, both in particular Men, and Nations. But ere we goe further, let vs confine Ambiguities, and Mistakings, that they trouble vs nor. First, to say, that the more Capable, or the better Deseruer, hath such Right to gouerne,

as he may compulſorily, bring vnder the leſſe Worthy, is idle. Men will neuer agree vpon it, who is the more Worthy. For it is not only in order of Nature, for him to gouerne, that is the more Intelligent, as *Aristotle* would haue it ; But there is no leſſe required for Government, Courage to protect ; and, about all, Honesty, and Probity of the Will, to abstaine from Iniury. So Fittesse to gouerne, is a Perplexed Businesse. Some Men, some Nations, excell in the one ability, some in the other. Therefore the Position, which I intend, is not in the *Comparatiue*, that the Wiser, or the Stoutter, or the Iuster Nation should gouerne ; But in the *Priuatue*, that where there is an Heape of People, (though we terme it a Kingdome, or State,) that is altogether vnable, or Indigne to gouerne ; There it is a iust Cause of *Warre*, for another Nation, that is Ciuill, or Polliced, to subdue them : And this, though it were to be done, by a *Cyrus*, or a *Cesar*, that were no Christian. The second Mistaking, to be banished, is ; That I vnderstand not this of

a Personall Tyranny, as was the State of Rome, vnder a *Caligula*, or a *Nero*, or a *Commodus* ; Shall the Nation suffer for that wherein they suffer ? But when the Constitution of the State, and the fundamentall Customes, and *Lawes* of the same, (if *Lawes* they may be called,) are against the *Lawes* of Nature, and Nations, then I say, a *Warre* vpon them is lawfull. I shall diuide the Question into three parts. First, whether there be, or may be, any Nation, or Society of Men, against whom it is lawfull to make a *Warre*, without a *Precedent Iniury*, or *Prouocation* ? Secondly, what are those *Breaches* of the *Law* of Nature, and Nations, which doe forfeit, and deuest, all Right, and Title, in a Nation to gouerne ? And thirdly, whether those *Breaches* of the *Law* of Nature, and Nations, be found in any Nation, at this day ; And namely in the *Empire* of the *Ottomans* ? For the first, I hold it cleare, that such Nations, or States, or Societies of People, there may be, and are. There cannot be a better Ground laid, to declare this, than to looke into the

Originall-Donation of Gouernment: Ob-
 serue it well; Especially the *Inducement*; or
Preface. Saith God: *Let vs make man after*
our owne Image, and let him haue dominion,
ouer the Fishes of the Sea, and the Fowles of
the Aire, and the Beasts of the Land, &c.
 Hereupon *De Victoria*, and with him some
 others, inferre excellently, and extract, a
 most true, and diuine Aphorisme; *Non*
fundatur Dominium, nisi in Imagine Dei. Here
 we haue the *Charter of Foundation*: It is
 now the more easie to iudge of the *Forfei-*
ture, or Reseisure. Deface the *Image*, and
 you deuell the *Right*. But what is this
Image, and how is it defaced? The *Poore*
Men of Lyons, and some Fanaticall Spirits,
 will tell you, that the *Image of God*, is *Pu-*
rity; And the *Defacement*, *Sinne*. But this
 subuerteth all *Gouernment*: Neither did
Adams Sinne, or the *Curse vpon it*, depriue
 him of his *Rule*, but left the *Creatures*, to
 a *Rebellion, or Reluctation*. And there-
 fore, if you note it attentiuely, when this
Charter was renewed vnto *Noah*, and his
Sonnes, it is not by the words, *You shall haue*
Dominion:

Dominion ; But, Your Feare (hall be vpon all the Beasts of the Land, and the Birds of the Aire, and all that moueth ; Not re-granting the Soueraignty, which stood firme ; But protecting it against the Reluctation. The sound Interpreters therefore, expound this Image of God, of *Naturall Reason* ; Which if it be totally, or mostly defaced, the *Right of Gouvernment* doth ceale : And if you marke all the Interpreters well, still they doubt of the *Case*, and not of the *Law*. But this is properly to be spoken to, in handling the *Second Point*, when we shall define of the *Defacements*. To goe on. The Prophet *Hosea*, in the Person of God, saith of the *Iewes* ; They haue reigned, but not by me ; They haue set a Signory ouer themselves, but I knew nothing of it. Which Place pro- ueth plainly, that there are *Gouernments*, which God doth not auow. For though they be ordained by his Secret Prouidence, yet they are not knowledged by his Re- uealed Will : Neither can this be meant of euill *Gouernours*, or *Tyrants* : For they are often auowed, and stablished, as law- full

full Potentates; But of some Peruersnesse, and Defection, in the very Nation it selfe; Which appeareth most manifestly, in that the *Prophet* speaketh, of the *Signory* in *Abstracto*, and not of the *Person* of the *Lord*. And although some *Hereiickes*, of those we spake of, haue abused this *Text*, yet the *Sunne* is not soiled in Passage. And againe, if any Man inferre, vpon the words of the *Prophets* following, (which declare this *Reiectiō*, and to vse the words of the *Text*, *Rescisiō* of their *Estate*, to haue beene for their *Idolatry*,) that by this Reason, the *Gouernments* of all *Idolatrous Nations*, should be also dissolued, (which is manifestly vnttrue,) in my iudgement it followeth not. For the *Idolatry* of the *Iewes* then, and the *Idolatry* of the *Heathen* then and now, are Sinnes of a farre differing Nature, in regard of the speciall *Couenant*, and the cleare *Manifestations*, wherein *God* did contract, and exhibit himselfe to that *Nation*. This *Nullity* of *Policy*, and *Right of Estate*, in some *Nations*, is yet more significantly expressed, by

Moses

Moses in his *Canticle*: In the Person of God to the *Iewes*: *Yee haue incensed mee with Gods, that are no Gods, and I will incense you with a People, that are no People.* Such as were (no doubt) the *People of Canaan*, after *Seisin* was giuen, of the *Land of Promise*, to the *Israelites*. For from that time, their Right to the *Land* was dissolued, though they remained in many Places vnconquered. By this we may see, that there are *Nations in Name*, that are no *Nations in Right*, but Multitudes onely, and Swarms of People. For like as there are *Particular Persons*, vtlawed, and proscribed, by ciuill Lawes, of seuerall Countries; So are there *Nations*, that are vtlawed, and proscribed, by the Law of Nature, and Nations; Or by the immediate Commandement of God. And as there are *Kings de Facto*, and not *de Iure*, in respect of the Nullity of their Title; So are there *Nations*, that are Occupants *de Facto*, and not *de Iure*, of their Territories, in respect of the Nullity, of their Policy, or *Gouernment*. But let vs take in some *Examples*, into the Midst of
our

our *Proofes*, For they will proue as much, as put atter; And illustrate more. It was neuer doubted, but a *Warre* vpon *Pirates*, may be lawfully made, by any Nation, though not infested, or violated by them. Is it because, they haue not *Certas Sedes*, or *Lares*? In the *Pyraticall War*, which was atchieued by *Pompey the Great*, and was his truest, and greatest glory; the *Pirates* had some Cities, sundry Ports, and a great part of the Prouince of *Cilicia*; And the *Pirates* now being, haue a Receptacle, and Mansion, in *Algiers*. Beasts are not the lesse Sauage; because they haue Dens. Is it because the Danger hovers, as a Cloud, that a Man cannot tell, where it will fall? And so it is euery Mans case. The Reason is good; But it is not all, nor that which is most Alleadged. For the true receiued Reason is, that *Pirates* are *Communes Humani Generis Hostes*; Whom all Nations are to prosecute, not so much in the Right of their owne Feares, as vpon the Band of Humane Society. For as there are, Formall and written Leagues, Respectiue to cer-
taine

taine Enemies ; So is there a Naturall, and Tacite Confederation, amongst all Men, against the common Enemy of Humane Societie. So as there needs no Intimation, or Denunciation of the *Warre* ; There needs no Request from the *Nation* griued ; But all these Formalities, the Law of Nature supplies, in the Case of *Pirates*. The same is the Case of *Rouers* by Land ; Such as yet are some *Cantons* in *Arabia* ; And some petty *Kings* of the *Mountaines*, adiacent to *Streights*, and *Wayes*. Neither is it lawfull, onely for the *Neighbour Princes*, to destroy such *Pirates*, or *Rouers* ; But if there were any *Nation*, neuer so farre off, that would make it an *Enterprize* of Merit, and true Glory, (as the *Romans*, that made a *Warre*, for the Liberty of *Grecia*, from a distant, and remote Part,) no doubt they mought doe it. I make the same Iudgement, of that *Kingdome* of the *Assasins*, now destroyed, which was situate vpon the Borders of *Saraca* ; And was, for a time, a great Terrour, to all the *Princes* of the *Leuant*. There the Custome was, that

vpon the Commandement of their *King*,
 and a Blinde Obedience to be giuen there-
 unto, any of them was to vndertake, in
 the nature of a Votary, the insidious Mur-
 der, of any *Prince*, or *Person*, vpon whom
 the Commandement went. This Cu-
 stome, without all question, made their
 whole *Gouernment* void, as an Engine
 built against *Humane Society*, worthy by
 all Men to be fired, and pulled downe. I
 say the like, of the *Anabaptists* of *Munster*;
 And this, although they had not beene *Re-*
bels to the *Empire*: And put case like-
 wise, that they had done no Mischiefe at all
 actually: yet if there shall be a Congrega-
 tion, and Consent of People, that shall
 hold all Things to be lawfull; Not accor-
 ding to any certaine Lawes, or Rules, but
 according to the secret, and variable Mo-
 tions, and Instincts of the Spirit; This is
 indeed no *Nation*, no *People*, no *Signorie*,
 that *God* doth know: Any Nation, that is
 Ciuill, and Polliced, may (if they will not
 be reduced,) cut them off, from the Face
 of the Earth. Now let me put a Feigned
 Calc,

Case, (And yet Antiquity makes it doubtfull, whether it were Fiction, or History,) of a *Land of Amazons*, where the whole *Gouernment*, Publike and Priuate, yea the *Militia* it Selfe, was in the hands of *Women*. I demand, is not such a Preposterous *Gouernment*, (against the first Order of Nature, for *Women* to rule ouer *Men*,) in it selfe void, and to be suppressed? I speake not of the *Reigne of Women*; (For that is supplied by Counsell, and subordinate Magistrates Masculine;) But where the *Regiment* of State, Iustice, Families, is all managed by *Women*. And yet this last Case, differeth from the other before: Because in the rest there is Terrour of Danger, but in this there is onely Errour of Nature. Neither should I make any great Difficulty, to affirme the same, of the *Sultanry* of the *Mamaluches*; where *Slaues*, and none but *Slaues*, bought for Money, and of vnkowne Descent, reigned ouer Families of *Free-men*. And much like were the Case, if you suppose a *Nation*, where the Custom were, that after full Age, the *Sonnes* should

should Expulse their *Fathers*; and *Mothers*,
 out of their Possessions, & put them to their
 Pensions : For these Cases, of *Women* to
 gouerne *Men*, *Sonnes* the *Fathers*, *Slaues*
Free-Men, are much in the same degree;
 All being totall Violations and Peruerfi-
 ons, of the Lawes of Nature, and Nations.
 For the *West Indies*, I perceiue (*Martius*)
 you haue read *Garcilazzo de Viëga*, who
 himselfe was descended of the race of the
Incaes, a *Mestizo*, and is willing to make
 the best, of the Vertues and Manners of
 his *Country* : And yet, in troth, hee doth it
 soberly, and credibly enough. Yet you shall
 hardly edifie me, that those *Nations* might
 not, by the *Law of Nature*, haue beene sub-
 dued by any *Nation*, that had onely Policy,
 and Morall Vertue ; Though the *Propaga-*
tion of the *Faith*, (whereof we shall sprake
 in the proper place,) were set by, and not
 made part of the *Case*. Surely, their *Naked-*
nesse; (being with them, in most parts of
 that *Country*, without all Vaile or Coue-
 ring,) was a great Defacement : For in
 the Acknowledgement of *Nakednesse*,
 was

was the first Sense of Sinne : And the *Herese* of the *Adamites*, was euer accounted an Affront of Nature. But vpon these I stand not : Nor yet vpon their *Idiocy*, in thinking that *Horses* did eat their Bitts, and *Letters* speake, and the like. Nor yet vpon their *Sorceries*, which are (almost) common to all *Idolatrous Nations*. But, I say, their *Sacrificing*, and, more especially, their *Eating of Men*, is such an Abomination, as (me thinks) a Mans Face should be a little confused, to deny, that this Custome, ioyned with the rest, did not make it lawfull, for the *Spaniards* to inuade their Territory, forfeited by the Law of Nature; And either to reduce them, or displant them. But farre be it from me, yet neuerthelesse to iustifie the *Cruelties*, which were at first vsed towards them; which had their Reward soone after; There being not One, of the Principall, of the first *Conquerors*, but died a violent Death himselfe; And was well followed by the Deaths of many more. Of *Examples* Enough: Except we should adde the *Labours of Hercules*: An

Example, which though it bee flourished with much Fabulous Matter, yet so much it hath, that it doth notably set forth, the Consent of all Nations, and Ages, in the Approbation, of the Extirpating, and Debellating of *Gyants, Monsters, and Forraine Tyrants*, not onely as lawfull, but as Meritorious, euen of *Diuine Honour*. And this, although the *Deliuerer* came, from the one End of the *World*, vnto the other. Let vs now set downe some *Arguments*, to proue the same; Regarding rather Weight, than Number, as in such a *Conference* as this is fit. The first *Argument* shall be this. It is a great Errour, and a Narrownesse, or Straightnesse of Minde, if any Man thinke, that Nations haue nothing to doe one with another, except there be, either an Vnion in Soueraignty, or a Coniunction in Pactts or Leagues. There are other *Bands of Society*, and implicite *Confederations*. That of *Colonies*, or *Transmigrants*, towards their *Mother Nation*. *Gentes unius labij* is somewhat; For as the *Confusion of Tongues*, was a Marke of Separation, so the Being

Of one Language, is a Marke of Vnion. To haue the same Fundamentall Lawes, and Customs, in chiefe, is yet more; As it was betweene the Grecians, in respect of the Barbarians. To be of one Sect, or Worship; If it be a False Worship, I speake not of it, for that is but *Frares in Malo*. But about all these, there is the Supreme, and Indissoluble Consanguinity, and Society, between Men in generall: Of which the Heathen Poet (whom the Apostle calls to witnesse,) saith; *We are all his Generation*. But much more, we Christians, vnto whom it is reuealed in particularity, that all Men came from one Lumpe of Earth; And that Two singular Persons, were the Parents, from whom all the Generations of the World are descended. We (I say) ought to acknowledge, that no Nations, are wholly Aliens, and Strangers, the one to the other: And not to be lesse charitable, than the Person introduced by the Comicke Poet; *Homo sum, Humani nihil à me alienum puto*. Now if there be, such a Tacite League, or Confederation, sure it is not idle; It is against somewhat,

what, or some Body : Who should they be ? Is it against *Wilde Beasts* ? Or the *Elements*, of *Fire*, and *Water* ? No, it is against such *Routs*, and *Sholes* of *People*, as haue vtterly degenerate, from the *Lawes* of *Nature* ; As haue, in their very Body, and Frame of Estate, a *Monstrosity* ; And may be truly accounted, (according to the *Examples* we haue formerly recited,) *Common Enemies*, and *Grievances* of *Mankinde* ; Or *Disgraces*, and *Reproaches* to *Humane Nature*. Such *People*, all *Nations* are interested, and ought to be relenting, to suppress ; Considering that the *Particular States* themselves, being the *Delinquents*, can giue no redresse. And this I say, is not to be measured so much, by the *Principles* of *Iurists*, as by *Lex Charitatis* ; *Lex proximi*, which includes the *Samaritan*, as well as the *Leuite* ; *Lex Filiorum Ada de Massâ unâ* : Vpon which *Originall Lawes*, this Opinion is grounded : Which to deny, (if a man may speake freely,) were almost to be a *Schismaticke* in *Nature*.

The rest was not perfected.

AN OFFER
TO OUR LATE

Soueraigne King

JAMES,

OF

A DIGEST TO
BE MADE OF THE
Lawes of ENGLAND.



LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND
for Humphrey Robinson. 1629.

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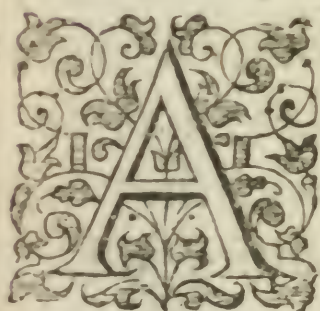


PRINTED BY JOHN H. BROWN
NEW YORK



To the King;
 OF
 A DIGEST
 TO BE MADE
 of the Lawes of
 ENGLAND.

Most Excellent Soueraigne.



Mongst the De-
 grees, and Acts, of
 Soueraigne, or
 rather Heroicall
 Honour, the First,
 or Second, is the Person, and
 T₂ Merit,

Merit, of a *Law-giuer*. *Princes* that gouerne well, are *Fathers* of the *People*. But if a *Father* breed his *Sonne* well, or allow him well, while he liueth, but leaue him nothing at his death; where- by both He, and his *Children*, and his *Childrens Children* may be the better; Surely the *Care* and *Piety* of a *Father*, is not in him compleat. So *Kings*, if they make a *Portion* of an *Age* happy by their good *Gouernment*, yet if they doe not make *Testaments*, (as *God Almighty* doth,) where- by a *Perpetuity* of *Good* may de- scend to their *Country*, they are but *Mortall* and *Transitorie* *Be- nefactors*. *Domitian*, a few dayes before he died, dream't, that a
Golden

Golden Head did rise vpon the nape of his Necke. Which was truly performed in the *Golden Age*, that followed his times, for five Successions. But *Kings*, by giuing their Subjects good *Lawes*, may (if they will) in their owne time, ioyne and graft this Golden Head, vpon their owne Necks, after their Death. Nay they may make *Nabuchadonozors* Image of *Monarchy*, golden from Head to Foot. And if any of the Meaner sort of *Politiques*, that are sighted onely to see the worst of things, thinke ; That *Lawes* are but Cobwebs, and that good *Princes* will doe well without them, and bad will not stand much vpon them ; The Discourse is neither good,

good, nor wise. For certaine it is, that good *Lawes*, are some bridle to bad *Princes* ; And as a very wall about *Gouernment*. And if Tyrants (sometime) make a breach into them, yet they mollifie euen Tyranny it selfe ; As *Solons Lawes* did the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* : And then (commonly) they get vp againe, vpon the first Aduantage of better times. Other meanes to perpetuate the Memory, and Merits of *Soueraign Princes*, are inferiour to this. *Buildings of Temples, Tombes, Palaces, Theaters*, and the like, are honourable things, and looke bigge vpon Posterity. But *Constantine the Great* gaue the Name well to those workes, when hee
vsed

vsed to call *Traian*, that was a great *Builder*, *Parietaria*, *Wall-Flower* ; Because his *Name* was vpon so many *Walls*. So if that be the Matter, that a *King* would turne *Wall-flower*, or *Pellitory* of the *Wall*, with cost he may. *Adrian's* veine was better ; For his minde was to wraastle a fall with Time ; And being a great *Progressour* through all the *Roman Empire*, when euer he found any *Decaies* of *Bridges*, or *Highwaies*, or *Cuts* of *Riuers* and *Sewers*, or *Walls*, or *Banks*, or the like, he gaue substantiall order, for their *Repaire* with the better. Hee gaue also *Multitudes* of *Charters*, and *Liberties*, for the comfort of *Corporations*, and *Companies* in

in decay. So that his Bounty did
strive with the *Ruines of Time*.
But yet this, though it were an
excellent Disposition, went but
(in effect) to the Cases and Shells
of a *Common-wealth*. It was no-
thing to Vertue or Vice. A bad
Man might indifferently take
the benefit and ease of his *Waies*
and *Bridges*, as well as a good;
And bad People might purchase
good *Charters*. Surely, the bet-
ter *Workes of Perpetuity* in
Princes, are those, that wash the
In-side of the Cup. Such as are
Foundations of Colledges, and *Le-
ctures*, for Learning and Educa-
tion of youth; Likewise *Founda-
tions and Institutions* of *Orders*
and *Fraternities*, for Noblenesse,
Enter-

Enterprise, and Obedience, and the like. But yet these also, are but like Plantations, of Orchards, and Gardens, in Plots and Spots of Ground, here and there; They doe not till ouer the whole *Kingdome*, and make it fruitfull, as doth the Establisshing of good *Lawes* and *Ordinances*; Which makes a whole *Nation*, to be as a well ordered *Colledge*, or *Foundation*.

This kinde of Worke, in the memory of Times, is rare enough to shew it Excellent; And yet not so rare, as to make it suspected, for Impossible, Inconvenient, or Vnsafe. *Moses*, that gaue *Lawes* to the *Hebrewes*, because he was the Scribe of God

V

him-

himselfe, is fitter to be named for honours sake to other *Lawgiuers*, than to bee numbred or ranked amongst them. *Minos*, *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, are Examples for Themes of Grammar Schollers. For ancient Personages, and Characters, now adayes, vse to wax Children againe; Though that *Parable of Pindarus* be true; *The best thing is Water*. For Common and Triuiall Things are (many times) the best; And rather despised vpon Pride, because they are vulgar, than vpon Cause, or Vse. Certaine it is, that the *Lames* of those three *Law-Gi- uers*, had great *Prerogattues*. The first, of *Fame*; Because they were the Patterne amongst the *Grecians*.

cians. The second, of *Lasting* ; For they continued longest without alteration. The third, of a *Spirit of Reuiner* ; To bee often oppressed, and often restored.

Amongst the seuen *Kings* of *Rome*, foure were *Law-Giuers*. For it is most true, that a *Discourser* of *Italy* saith : *There was neuer State, so well swaddled in the Infancie, as the Roman was, by the vertue of their first Kings* : Which was a principall Cause of the wonderfull growth of that *State*, in after times.

The *Decemuirs Lawes*, were *Lawes vpon Lawes*, not the Originall ; For they grafted *Lawes* of *Grecia*, vpon *Roman Stocke*, of *Lawes*, and *Customes*. But such

was their successe, as the *Twelve Tables*, which they compiled, were the maine Body of the *Laws*, which framed and weil-ded the great Body of that *Estate*. These lasted a long time, with some *Supplementals*, and the *Pretorian Edicts in Albo*; Which were in respect of *Laws*, as *Writing Tables* in respect of *Brasse*; The one to be put in and out, as the other is permanent. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* reformed the *Laws* of Rome. For that Man had three Singularities, which neuer *Tyrant* had, but he. That he was a *Law-Giuer*; That he tooke part with the Nobility; And, That he turned Private Man, not vpon Feare, but vpon Confidence.

(Cesar

Cæsar long after desired to imitate him only in the First ; For otherwise hee relied vpon new Men : And for resigning his Power *Seneca* describeth him right : *Cæsar gladium citò condidit, nunquam posuit.* *Cæsar* soone sheathed his sword, but nener put it off. And himselfe tooke it vpon him, saying in scorne of *Syllæ's* Resignation. *Sylla nesciuit literas, dictare non potuit.* *Sylla* knew no letters, he could not dictate. But for the part of a Law-Giuer, *Cicero* giueth him the Attribute. *Cæsar si ab eo quæreretur, quid egisset in Togâ ; leges se respondisset, multas & præclaras tulisse.* If you had asked *Cæsar*, what he did in the Gowne, he would haue answered, that he made
many

many excellent *Lawes*. His Nephew *Augustus* did tread the Same steps, but with deeper print, because of his long Reigne in peace; Whereof one of the *Poets* of his time saith;

*Pace datâ terris, animum ad Ci-
uilia vertit :*

*Fura suum, legesq; tulit iustissimus
Author.*

From that time, there was such a Race of Wit and Authority, betweene the *Commentaries* and *Decisions* of the *Lawyers*, and the *Edicts* of the *Emperours*, as both *Lawes* and *Lawyers* were out of breath. Whereupon *Iustinian* in the end recompiled both; And made a Body of *Lawes*, such as might be weilded; which him-
selfe

selfe calleth gloriously, and yet not about truth; *The Edifice or Structure of a sacred Temple of Iustice*; Built indeed, out of the former *Ruines* of Bookes, as *Materials*, and some *Novell Constitutions* of his owne.

In *Athens* they had *Sexuiri*, (as *Æschines* obserueth,) which were *standing Commissioners*; Who did watch to discerne, what lawes waxed vnproper for the Times, and what new *Law* did in any branch crosse a former *Law*, and so *Ex officio* propounded their Repeale.

King Edgar collected the *Lawes* of this *Kingdome*, and gaue them the strength of a Faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed:

perfed : Which was more glory to him, then his Sailing about this Island, with a potent Fleet. For that was, as the *Scripture* saith : *Via nauis in mari* ; *The way of a shipp in the Sea* ; It vanished ; but this lasteth. *Alphonso the Wise*, (the ninth of that Name,) King of *Castile*, compiled the *Digest* of the *Lawes* of *Spaine*, Intituled the *Siete Partidas* ; An excellent Worke, which he finished in seven years. And as *Tacitus* noteth well ; That the *Capitoll*, though built in the beginnings of *Rome*, yet was fit for the great *Monarchy* that came after ; So that *Building* of *Lawes* sufficeth the Greatnesse of the *Empire* of *Spaine*, which since hath ensued.

Lewis

Lewis the eleuenth had it in his minde, (though he performed it not,) to haue made one constant *Law* of *France* ; Extracted out of the *Ciwill Roman Law*, and the *Customes* of *Prouinces* which are *Various*, and the *Kings Edicts* which with the *French* are *Statutes*. Surely he mought haue done well, if, like as he brought the *Crowne*, (as he said himfelfe,) from *Page* ; So he had brought his *People* from *Lacquay* ; Not to runne vp and downe for their *Lanes*, to the *Ciwill Law*, and the *Ordinances*, and the *Customes*, & the *Discretions* of *Courts*, & discourses of *Philosophers*, as they vse to doe.

King Henry the *Eighth*, in the
X
twenty

twenty seventh yeare of his Reigne, was authorized by *Parliament*, to nominate 32. Commissioners, part Ecclesiasticall, and part Temporall; To purge the *Canon Law*, and to make it agreeable to the *Law of God*, and the *Law of the Land*. But it tooke not effect. For the Acts of that *King* were (commonly) rather Proffers, and Fables, than either well grounded, or well pursued. But I doubt, I erre in producing so many examples. For as *Cicero* said to *Cesar*, so may I say to your Maiestie; *Nil vulgare te dignum videri possit*. Though indeed this well vnderstood is farre from *Vulgar*. For that the *Lanes* of the most *Kingdomes* and *States*, haue
beene

beene like Buildings of many peeces, & patched vp, from time to time, according to occasions, without Frame, or Modell.

Now for the *Lawes* of *England*, (if I shall speake my Opinion of them, without partiality, either to my Profession, or Country,) for the Matter and Nature of them, I hold them Wise, Iust, and Moderate *Lawes* : They giue to *God*, they giue to *Cæsar*, they giue to the *Subiect*, what appertaineth. It is true, they are as mixt, as our *Language*, compounded of *Brittish*, *Roman*, *Saxon*, *Danish*, *Norman* *Customes*. And surely, as our *Language* is thereby so much the richer ; So our *Lawes*

X 2

are

are likewise by that Mixture, the more compleat.

Neither doth this attribute lesse to them, than those that would haue them to haue stood out the same in all Mutations. For no Tree is so good first set, as by transplanting, and Grafting. I remember what happened to *Callisthenes*, that followed *Alexanders* Court, and was growne into some displeasure with him, because he could not well brooke the *Persian Adoration*. At a Supper, (which with the *Grecians* was a great part Talke,) he was desired, (the *King* being present,) because he was an Eloquent Man, to speake of some Themes. Which he did; And chose

chose for his Theme the praise of the *Macedonian Nation*; Which though it were but a filling Thing, to praise Men to their Faces, yet he performed it with such aduantage of Truth, and auidance of Flattery, and with such Life, as was much applauded by the Hearers. The *King* was the lesse pleased with it, not louing the Man, and by way of discountenance, said; *It was easie to be a good Oratour in a pleasing Theme*; But saith he to him; *Turne your stile; And tell vs now of our faults, that we may haue the profit, and not you the praise onely*: Which he presently did, with such Quicknesse, that *Alexander* said; *That Malice made him Eloquent*

quent then, as the Theme had done before. I shall not fall into either of these Extremes, in this Subject, of the *Laws* of England. I haue commended them before for the *Matter*, but surely they aske much Amendment for the *Forme* ; Which to reduce and perfect, I hold to be one of the greatest Dowries, that can be confer'd vpon this Kingdome. Which Worke, for the Excellency, as it is worthy your *Majesties* Act, and Times; So it hath some circumstance of Propriety agreeable to your *Person*. God hath blessed your *Majesty* with Posterity ; And I am not of opinion, that *Kings* that are barren, are fittest to supply Perpetuity of
Gene-

Generations, by perpetuity of Noble Acts; But contrariwise, that they that leaue Posterity, are the more interess'd in the Care of Future Times; That as well their Progeny, as their People, may participate of their Merit.

Your *Maiesty* is a great Master in Iustice, and Iudicature; And it were pity, the fruit of that your Vertue, should not bee transmitted to the Ages to come. Your *Maiestie* also reigneth in learned times, the more, (no doubt,) in regard of your owne Perfection in Learning, and your Patronage thereof. And it hath beene the Mishap of *Works* of this nature, that the lesse Learned Time, hath (sometimes)

times) wrought vpon the more Learned; Which now will not be so. As for my selfe, the *Law* was my Profession, to which I am a Debter: Some little Helps I haue of other Arts, which may giue Forme to Matter; And I haue now, (by *Gods* mercifull Chastisement, and by his speciall Prouidence,) time and leisure, to put my Talent, or halfe-Talent, or what it is, to such Exchanges, as may perhaps exceed the Interest of an Actiue Life. Therefore, as in the beginning of my Troubles, I made offer to your *Maiestie* to take paines in the *Story of England*, and in compiling a *Method* and *Digest* of your *Lawes*; So haue I performed the first,

first, (which rested but vpon my
selfe,) in some part; And I doe,
in all humblenessse, renew the of-
fer of this latter, (which will re-
quire Helpe and Assistance,) to
your *Maiestie*, if it shall stand
with your good pleasure, to
imploy my Seruice
therein.

Y

Y

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE REIGNE
OF KING
Henry the Eighth.



LONDON,
Printed by JOHN HAVILAND
for *Humphrey Robinson.*
1629.

THE
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OF
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Henry the Eighth.



LONDON,

Printed by John Hayes,

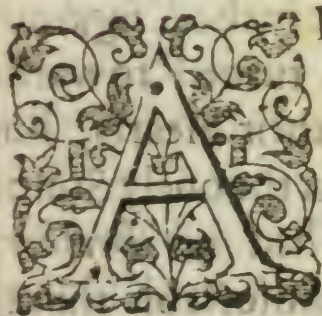
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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE REIGNE

OF
King *HENRIE*
The Eighth.



After the Decease, of that
Wise, & Fortunate King,
King Henry the 7, who
died in the Height of
his Prosperity, there fol-
lowed (as vseth to doe,
when the Sun setteth so exceeding cleare,
one of the fairest Mornings of a *Kingdome,*
that hath beene knowne in this *Land,* or
any

any where else. A young *King*, about 18. yeares of Age, for Stature, Strength, Making, and Beauty, one of the goodliest Persons of his time : And though he were giuen to Pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of Glory ; So that there was a passage open in his Minde, by Glory, for Vertue. Neither was he vn-adorned with Learning, though therein he came short of his *Brother Arthur*. He had neuer any the least pique Difference, or Iealousie, with the *King* his *Father*, which might giue any occasion, of altering Court, or Counsell vpon the change, but all things passed in a Still. He was the first Heire of the *White*, and the *Red Rose* ; So that there was no discontented Party now left in the *Kingdome*, but all Mens Hearts turned towards him. And not onely their Hearts, but their Eyes also. For he was the onely Sonne Of the *Kingdome*. He had no *Brother*, which though it be a comfortable thing, for *Kings* to haue, yet it draweth the subjects Eyes a little aside. And yet being a married Man in those young yeares, it promised

misled hope of speedy Issue, to succeed in the *Crowne*. Neither was there any *Queene Mother*, who might share any way in the Government, or clash with his *Counsellours* for Authority, while the *King* intended his pleasure. No such thing, as any Great and Mighty *Subiect*, who might any way eclipse, or ouersshade the *Imperiall Power*. And for the people, and *State* in generall, they were in such lownesse of obedience, as *Subiects* were like to yeeld, who had liued almost foure and twenty yeares, vnder so politike a *King*, as his *Father*; Being also one who came partly in by the sword; And had so high a Courage in all points of Regalitie; And was cuer victorious in Rebellions, and Seditions of the *People*. The *Crowne* extremely rich, and full of Treasure, and the *Kingdome* like to be so in short time. For there was no War, no Dearth, no Stop of Trade, or Commerce, it was onely the *Crowne*, which had sucked too hard, and now being full, and vpon the head of a young *King*, was like to Draw lesse. Lastly, he was Inheritour of

of his Fathers Reputation, which was great throughout the World. He had streight Alliance, with the two Neighbour States an ancient Enemy in former times, and an ancient Friend, *Scotland*, and *Burgundy*. He had Peace, and Amitie with *France*, vnder the Assurance, not only of Treatie and League, but of Necessitie and Inhabilitie in the *French* to doe him hurt, in respect that the *French Kings* Designs were wholly bent vpon *Italy*. So that it may be truly said, there had scarcely beene seene, or knowne, in many Ages, such a rare Concurrence of Signes, and Promises, of a happy, and flourishing Reigne to ensue, as were now met in this young King, called after his *Fathers* name, HENRY the Eighth. &c.

FINIS.





